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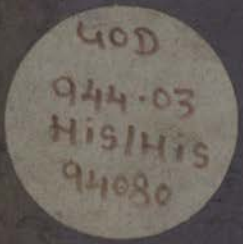
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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF BOURBON

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Cæsar the Magician showing the devil

LONDON:
Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, Paternoster Row.
1831.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS XIII.

The reign of Louis XIII. divides itself into two distinct parts. The first presents eleven years of low intrigues, of quarrels, of invasions of authority and of the finances, of civil wars, and of anarchy. The second is marked by eighteen years of the tyranny of a man, tormented by the most unbridled ambition, devoured by an inextinguishable thirst of power, and who, in order to satisfy these passions, abandoned himself to the most audacious and criminal intrigues. The death of Henry IV., and the weakness of his successor, had left open a free career to all the evil passions, and to all the disorders of feudalism.

The intrigues of the marquis d'Ancre, of the count de Soissons, of the prince de Condé, of the duke de Bouillon, of the duke de Guise, and others;

the cabals which they formed against the court; the measures of deception, the impostures, the menaces which they made use of to strengthen their party, and to weaken that of their adversaries; the contemptible motives of so many agitations, the civil wars which ensued; those acts of bad faith, those basenesses rewarded,—was all this calculated to edify the public, or to diminish the corruption of morals? Those men, when they seek to conceal their vices under the veil of pompous titles, of decorations, and of riches,—to dazzle the eyes by the glare of gold, by magnificent equipages, and by a numerous suite of servants,—after having presented so many bad examples, do they not give an improper direction to public opinion? Do they not teach the multitude of their fellows to honour and respect vice thus clothed? Do they not incline them to prefer to real merit a merit which is purchased, a merit which a successful robber may procure? It is impossible to have good morals, it is impossible not to have great corruption, where gold and where birth preserve their possessors from infamy and the scaffold, where that metal is preferred to talent and virtue.

When the prince de Condé, the count de Soissons, and others, demanded of the intimidated court such places, such governments, such a pension, such a sum of money,—and demanded them with threats of taking arms against it,—did their conduct differ much from that of the brigand, who, with the menace of death, demands his purse of the traveller? Did not these brigands find illustrious models for their conduct in that of these princes? What a model of morality did that Luynes afford, who assas-

sinated the marquis d'Ancre, and who shamelessly inherited the dignities and property of his victim!

In 1611, Mary de Medicis, perceiving the misunderstanding subsisting between the princes, forbade the opening and the holding of the fair of Saint Germain, where the princes went and often quarrelled. "It is better," said the regent, "that five hundred merchants should be ruined, than that the peace of France should be disturbed." In other words, what is the ruin of five hundred merchants compared to the convenience of one or two aristocrats?

These princes and seigneurs were subject to somewhat strange rules of honour: they could break their word, violate their oaths, and give themselves up to the meanest intrigues, and even sully themselves with crime. This invulnerable honour received no stain from it: but the reproach of these vile actions, a word escaping undesignedly, a truth awkwardly brought before them, the slightest fault even involuntarily committed against the important laws of etiquette and of ceremony, grievously wounded this honour. After that, all excesses were duties, and vengeance became a virtue.

On the 10th of January, 1611, France was on the point of being thrown into commotion from the following cause:—The prince de Conti, going to the Louvre in his coach, met at the cross of Trahoir that of the count de Soissons, his brother. The streets being crowded, it was necessary that one of the two coaches should stop to let the other pass. The groom of the count de Soissons, not knowing the coach of the prince de Conti, commanded, in a

menacing manner, the people of the prince to draw back. They, on the contrary, ordered the coachman to go on. The count de Soissons, having soon been informed that the coach which was advancing upon his was that of the prince de Conti, sent one of his people to him to make his excuses, praying him to believe that mistake alone was the cause of this rudeness. The honour of the prince de Conti was not satisfied with this excuse. Putting his head out at the carriage window, he said, in passing, to his brother, " A demain, pourpoint bas !" Thus, by the inadvertence of a groom, the honour of the prince de Conti was grievously outraged. In order to atone for this pretended outrage, he wished to fight with his brother !

This affair caused much uneasiness at court. The queen despatched the duke de Guise to the prince de Conti, in order to dispose them to an accommodation. She ordered the inhabitants of Paris to hold themselves ready to take up arms, and to extend chains across the streets. But this quarrel, the cause of which was so frivolous, soon gave rise to another, between the count de Soissons and the duke de Guise. The latter, acting the part of peacemaker, and going, in accordance with the queen's orders, to the house of the prince de Conti, had passed the gate of the hotel de Soissons accompanied with one hundred and fifty cavaliers. The count de Soissons pretended that the duke de Guise had shown himself with so numerous an escort solely for the purpose of braving him. The duke de Guise replied, that he had passed before the hotel of the count only because it was the shortest road to reach the house of the prince de

Conti. These pitiable squabbles, worthy of children, or of women without education, alarmed the council of regency, and gave rise to numerous negotiations.

The other quarrels of the princes and seigneurs of the court of the regent had motives sometimes less puerile, but still more contemptible; for they were produced by a vile interest, by the desire of obtaining an increase of power or of fortune, new pensions, governments, sums of money, &c. Unhappily their avidity was not fatal to the treasure of the state only; it was also fatal to public tranquillity and morals. These men, when the court did not satisfy their unjust demands, removed to a distance, formed cabals, levied troops, and inflicted on their country all the evils of civil war.

Other quarrels had for their causes jealousies and family feuds. Le chevalier de Guise killed in a duel, *or rather assassinated*, the old baron de Luz. The queen, being irritated, renewed the law against duels, and ordered the parliament to pursue with rigour the chevalier de Guise. The latter, in contempt of the commands of the queen and of the laws, fought some days after with the son of the baron de Luz. He had killed the father; he also killed the son. Although the chevalier de Guise was more criminal on this occasion than when the queen invoked against him the rigours of justice, that princess appeared, nevertheless, only to show more indulgence towards him. She sent a person to see him, and to enquire how he was after the wounds which he had received in this last combat.*

* Journal de Bassompierre, tom. i. p. 349.

This government, not being able to count on the obedience of the grandees, and fearing to see them in a state of rebellion, purchased their obedience at a very high price: the queen purchased that of the Guises by augmenting their pensions, which she raised to one hundred thousand livres; and by giving to the duke of that name a sum of two hundred thousand crowns to pay his debts.

The prince de Condé sold his submission to the queen for the sum of one hundred thousand francs, the hotel de Gondy, and some places which were given to him. The other princes did not fail to follow his example; but frequently, after having received the price of it, they withdrew the merchandise. The history of this time abounds with these acts of baseness and perfidy. These men did not confine themselves to disturbing the state by their vile passions, to seizing upon employments and the finances, to giving to the people numerous examples of bad faith and of immorality; they propagated the most stupid errors.

In 1622, a man named Fontanay proposed to the king an extraordinary means, which he represented as very easy, and very sure, of taking the towns of Montauban and Rochelle. This means consisted in enrolling all the soldiers of the royal army in the brotherhood of the Rosaire, and in obliging each soldier and officer to wear upon him a chaplet blessed by a dominican friar. The author of this talisman, or preservative, did not wish the chaplets of the officers to be as simple as those of the soldiers. He prescribed, in regard to this, a useful distinction. "It will be proper," said he,

"that your majesty should give to each soldier a chaplet of two sous strung on a waxen thread; and to the officers your majesty should give, with your own hand, chaplets of higher price."

Bassompierre relates that, in 1612, he went to visit the marquis d'Ancre, who was sick. Some person, who happened to be in his chamber, said, "A friend of mine, a monk, has a person in hand who promises, on his life, to make a woman fall in love with any man whom this person pleases." After this, the monk recommended his magician, and his secret, to the duke de Bellegarde. The latter was gained over, and promised a sum of money if the secret succeeded. The duke then demanded if, by this magical means, he could succeed in making a lady conceive a hatred for a person whom she loved. The monk and the magician maintained that the thing was very possible. The duke de Bellegarde then, transported with joy, went to tell in confidence to the princess de Conti that he had a secret, by which he was assured that he could make the queen love him and hate the marquis d'Ancre and his wife. This piece of folly transpired at court; and, three days after, the monk, the magician, and he who had introduced them at the house of the duke, were imprisoned.

In matter of belief, the public imitated the court. In the month of March, 1615, the devil strangled two magicians at Paris: the one, called Cæsar, made the hail and the thunder fall at his pleasure: he had a familiar spirit and a dog, which carried his letters, and brought back the answers to them. He made an image of wax, in order to destroy a

certain nobleman by a languishing death. He composed philtres to make young men be loved by young women; went to the nocturnal meeting of witches; and boasted of having there obtained the favours of a great lady of the court. He was a prisoner in the Bastile, when, on the 11th of March, 1615, the devil came with a great noise and strangled him in his bed. What is rather more certain is, that he followed the trade of showing the devil to the dupes who paid for seeing him!

To satisfy the reader's curiosity, we shall give the details of the manner in which this impostor exhibited the devil in his infernal court to the eyes of the credulous. A contemporary writer makes Cæsar himself thus speak: "You would not believe how many young courtiers and young Parisians have importuned me to show them the devil. Seeing that, I bethought myself of the most pleasant invention in the world to gain money. At a quarter of a league from this city (towards Gentilly, I think), I found a quarry very deep, which had long caverns on the right and left. When any person comes to see the devil, I place him therein: but, before entering, he must pay me at least forty-five or fifty pistoles. He must swear never to speak of it; he must promise to have no fear; to invoke neither gods nor demigods, and to pronounce no holy word.

"After that, I first enter the cavern; then, before passing farther, I make circles, fulminations, invocations, and recite some discourses, composed of barbarous words, which I have no sooner pronounced than the curious fool and I hear great

iron chains rattle, and great dogs growl. Then I ask him if he is not afraid: if he answers yes, as there are some who dare not pass beyond, I lead him back, and, having thus got rid of his impertinent curiosity, retain for myself the money which he has given me.

"If he is not afraid, I advance farther in front, muttering some frightful words. Having arrived at a place which I know, I redouble my invocations, and utter cries as if I were in a fury. Immediately six men, whom I keep in this cavern, throw flames of resin to the right and left of us. Through the flames I show to my curious companion a large goat, loaded with huge iron chains painted vermilion, as if they were on fire. To the right and left there are two huge mastiffs, the heads of which are placed in long instruments of wood, wide at the top and very narrow at the other end. In proportion as these men incite them, they howl as much as they are able; and this howling resounds in such a manner in the instruments in which their heads are placed, that there comes out of them a noise so tremendous into this cavern, that truly my own hair stands on end with horror, although I know well what it is. The goat, which I have dressed up for the occasion, acts, on his side, rattling his chains, shaking his horns, and plays his part so well that there is no one who would not believe that he was the devil. My six men, whom I have very well instructed, are also charged with red chains, and dressed like furies. There is no other light in the place than that which they make, at intervals, with the resin.

" Two of them, after having acted the devil to the utmost, come and torment my curious adventurer with long linen bags filled with sand, with which they beat him in such a manner, over all his body, that I am afterwards obliged to drag him out of the cavern half dead. Then, when he has a little recovered his spirits, I tell him that it is a dangerous and useless curiosity to see the devil; and I pray him no longer to have this desire, as I assure you there are none who have, after having been beaten like a devil and a half." *

The other magician whom the devil strangled, in March, 1615, was a Florentine, named Ruggieri, abbé de Saint Mahé, a poisoner, who lived with a marshal of France, and who, four days after the death of Cæsar, was, they say, assailed by the devil with a frightful noise, and strangled during the night. †

In 1631 the chamber of justice, sitting at the arsenal, condemned Adrian Bouchard, a priest, and Nicholas Gargan, to be hanged, because there were found in their house two books of magic written on parchment, a black stole, and a small pewter chalice. There is no sort of profanations, sacrileges, and impieties which they are not said to have employed to destroy by witchcraft the cardinal de Richelieu.

What persons at court were not persuaded that the curé de Loudun, Urbain Grandier, was a magician; that he had lodged devils in the ursuline nuns

* Roman Satirique de Jean de Lannel.—Nouveaux Mémoires Historiques de l'Abbé d'Artigny, tom. vi. p. 45.

† Histoires Epouvantables de deux Magiciens étranglés par le Diable à Paris pendant la semaine sainte, 1615.

of that town; that Leviathan, chief of fifty demons, had, by virtue of exorcisms, come out of one of these young women; that the devil Balaam, by the same virtue, had abandoned the body of the mother prioress of that convent; in short, that the devil had written a letter to Urbain Grandier, dated from his cabinet in the infernal regions? The court and the stupid people believed it. The agents of the cardinal would not believe it, but wished to make it be believed; people of education did not believe it, and were indignant at seeing played a farce so ridiculous, so insulting to reason, to truth, and of which the *dénouement* was so horrible.

About this time Richelieu appeared, and, having made himself master of all the powers of government and the finances, imposed silence upon all; paralysed all the petty ambitions, the better to exercise his own; and upon the ruins of feudal anarchy founded his absolute despotism.

The French were not relieved by this change; feudalism ceased to act then against the king, it preserved all its activity against the people: they had the same burthen, and a still heavier burthen, to support. The conduct of the despot was not more favourable to the amelioration of morals than had been that of the feudal princes.

To seize upon the supreme authority, in how many immoral intrigues, impostures, and manœuvres had he not to involve himself! and, in order to maintain himself in that high degree of power, what iniquities had he not to commit! The greatest crimes, when he judged them necessary, did not stop his ambitious march. Violence, perfidy, cor-

ruption, all the infernal resources of machiavelism, were the familiar instruments which he knew how to handle with ability. After exile, the dungeon, and the scaffold, *espionage* was one of his most powerful means. This art, so useful to tyrants, so fatal to public morality, was carried by this cardinal to a degree of perfection which it had never before attained: he gave it a fatal extension. Terror with some, the hope of a salary with others, procured him satellites; dukes, valets, marshals of France, soldiers, monks, wives, mistresses,—he succeeded in corrupting all; all, in order to serve him, were obliged to betray their duties, their fellows, and their conscience.

The following is an example of the sort of spies which he made use of. The cardinal had occasion to send to Brussels a spy calculated to banish all distrust. The count de Rochefort was chosen for that noble enterprise; but, in order to accomplish it successfully, the count was obliged to submit to a disagreeable disguise: he quitted his court dress, renounced his dissolute habits, assumed a capuchin's gown, entered the convent of the rue St. Honoré, and there submitted to a sort of noviciate. Thence, accompanied by a true novice, he went on foot to Brussels, and entered a convent of capuchins of that city. This young courtier remained there for two years, feigning devotion, and submitting rigorously to the regulations and to all the abstinences which they prescribed, the better to serve his master in deceiving the monks and the public.

From the beginning of the reign of Louis XIII., under the domination of the marquis d'Ancre, there

existed a class of persons employed to instigate, if not actions, at least seditious words, in order to have a pretext for denouncing them.

The confessors of the court served not only as spies to the cardinal de Richelieu, but they were the instruments most usually employed by him to direct the opinions of eminent persons. The jesuits under Henry IV. were in possession of the direction of royal consciences. An author of that time approves of Louis XIII. having the jesuits for spies, but he desires the king not to confide his secrets to them. "The public," he says, "would wish that your majesty would be pleased to imitate, in this respect, the wisdom of the popes, and the prudence of the kings of Spain; who make use of these good fathers as spies to discover, by their interposition, the secrets of others; but they take great care not to reveal to them their own, in order not to be dependent upon them, and not to put it in their power to play double: for which reason, up to the present time, no jesuit has had the honour to be confessor of his holiness, or of the infants or infantas. Your majesty ought to take example therefrom, and to consider the inconveniences into which France has fallen by rendering the confession of the Louvre hereditary in the family of the jesuits, as the empire in the house of Austria."

To these acts of tyranny, to these institutions subversive of morality, cardinal Richelieu joined habits far from exemplary. Believing himself sufficiently powerful to transgress all the rules of decency, he did not blush to imitate, in the seventeenth century, the vices of the prelates of barbarous times.

Like them, he possessed a great quantity of benefices; like them, he neglected spiritual affairs, to give himself up entirely to temporal; like them, he displayed a luxury, a magnificence, opposed to the spirit of the religion of which he was a minister; like them, he shed blood, and tyrannised over the people; like them, he kept mistresses and executioners; and like them, in a word, he assumed the casque and sword, and showed himself at the head of armies. His example produced imitators: in his time, monks, priests, bishops, and cardinals were seen to unite to their own profession that of the military, and to plunge into the dissolute habits of camps. On this subject were composed the following verses: —

" Un archevêque est amiral,
Un gros évêque est caporal;
Un prélat préside aux frontières,
Un autre a des troupes guerrières;
Un capucin pense aux combats;
Un cardinal a des soldats,
Un autre est généralissime.
O France! connais qu'ici-bas,
Ton église, si magnanime,
Milite et ne triomphe pas! "

The cardinal de Richelieu held the office of high admiral of France, under the title of superintendent of the marine; he had also created himself generalissimo of the armies, as the king's representative. He went to war with helmet and sword.

The cardinal de Lavalette, archbishop of Toulouse, commanded troops, made war a long time in Italy and in France, and died sword in hand. He was a counsellor and lieutenant of cardinal Richelieu.

The cardinal de Guise was at once a debauchee and a soldier. Having had a bastard by madame des Essarts, one of the mistresses of Henry IV., he wished to obtain for him the priory of La Charité. The duke de Nevers had claims upon this priory hence arose a quarrel between the cardinal and the duke. The cardinal, clad in a doublet, booted, and carrying his sword under his cloak, met the duke in a house, insulted him, struck him, and was on the point of having him assassinated by his attendants in the presence of several persons. The duke de Nevers asked leave of the king to fight a duel with this prelate.

Under the reign of Louis XIII. the bishoprics, the abbeys, the priories, &c. were given to laymen, to military men, even to women. "The greater number of the benefices of France," says a writer of that time, "are held by unworthy and incapable persons; and we cannot refrain from laughing when some good vicar addresses his letters to monsieur mon abbé, captain such a one, or to madame such a one who is well enough known at court."

Louis XIII. gave to the widow of the duke de Lorraine the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Here we have a woman appointed abbess of a convent of monks.

In a work which appeared under this reign, the author passes in review the greater part of the professions of the city of Paris, and reproaches each with its peculiar vices. The author begins with the ecclesiastics: he complains of their ignorance and of their vain presumption. "How many of them," says he, "do you see who would rather amuse

themselves in seeing trifles, foolish farces, &c. than in employing a quarter of an hour daily in reading some good books, which might profit both themselves and the public! You will see others who walk about in the dress of soldiers, others in the dress of courtiers, others without the tonsure, with the beard *à-la-mode*, and a peruque on their head." He then speaks of those ecclesiastics who are loaded with benefices, whilst so many poor priests seek alms. He adds, that when one complains to these rich priests of the superabundance of their benefices, they reply, "It is for my nephew;" not daring to say, "for my son."

The author then speaks of the judges. "You will sometimes see them condemn a man, either to death or to some other punishment, but for money. If you find some notorious robber or murderer in your house, and have him taken to prison, it will cost you money. If you ask justice, they will ask you if you belong to a party. If you say 'No,' they will deliver the culprit: if you say 'Yes,' they will inform themselves if you have wherewithal to pay the expenses of the procedure; and they will condemn the poor wretch to the gallies, or to be whipped before your gate." Let a man be accused falsely, and for a trifling delinquency, and let him be so by a friend of the judge; then, without any delay, he is condemned to death. Thus," says the author, "they take the little rogues, and the great ones remain at large."

The author accuses the police of letting loose the robbers whom they take, as soon as these give them some money. They go into the suspicious haunts,

and make an appearance of taking to the Châtelet those whom they find there; but if the men arrested give them, on the way, a piece of money, they set them at liberty.

The disorders of this period, which appear to us the most revolting, because we are not accustomed to them, are those which spring from a defective police on the one hand, and a defective morality on the other. Very numerous robberies and assassinations were committed, not only in the night but also in broad day, in the most frequented parts of Paris, in sight of the multitude, who evinced no astonishment at them. We have already alluded to two principal sorts of thieves, "les coupe-bourses" and "les tire-laines." The first cut, with address, the cords of the purse which men and women continued to wear suspended from their girdle; the "tire-laines," or "tireurs de laines," plucked violently the cloak from the shoulders of the wearer.

The Pont Neuf was the most usual theatre of such exploits—the place which these thieves found the most convenient for the exercise of their talents. Towards the end of the reign of Louis XIII., or at the commencement of the following reign, Gaston, duke of Orleans, used to take pleasure, after having made a debauch, in lying in ambuscade on the Pont Neuf, and robbing the passengers of their cloaks. It is related in the Memoirs of Rochefort, that this prince and his companions having taken during the night five or six cloaks from the passengers, some of the persons robbed went and complained. The police arrived; at their approach the noble robbers took to flight. Among the prince's accomplices

were the count d'Harcourt, the chevalier de Rieux, and the count de Rochefort. The two last, having fled for refuge towards the statue of Henry IV., climbed up on his horse; the chevalier de Rieux, being frightened, wished to get down; he placed his feet on the reins of bronze—they gave way under his weight—he fell, and uttered cries which brought the police. The latter forced him to get up, and obliged the count de Rochefort, who had stationed himself at the back of Henry IV., to come down. They were taken to the dungeons of the Châtelet, from which they only got out by powerful interest.

It may not be uninteresting to most readers, and we are sure that it will be very interesting to many, to give here a brief sketch of the history of this equestrian statue of Henry IV., which stands upon the mole in the middle of the Pont Neuf. Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, ordered a colossal horse to be cast in bronze, with the design of having it surmounted by his effigy. Jean de Boulogne, the pupil of Michael Angelo, was entrusted with the execution of this work. Ferdinand died, and the horse remained without a rider. Cosmo II., his successor, offered to Marie de Medicis, regent of France, or gave up at her request, this horse of bronze, had it polished up and embarked on board of a vessel at Leghorn. This vessel traversed the Mediterranean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the ocean, and ran ashore on the coast of Normandy. The horse of bronze remained during a whole year at the bottom of the sea: it was got up again at great expense, and being transported on board of a new vessel, it arrived, at the beginning of May, 1614, at the port of Havre;

from thence it was conveyed up the Seine to Paris. Le chevalier Pescolini, having been appointed to offer this present to the king and queen, announced to them its near arrival. In consequence, a marble pedestal was constructed, of which the king, on the 2d of June of the same year, laid the first stone with great ceremony. The pedestal being finished, the horse was raised upon it, to wait for the rider who was to mount him. Whence it came to pass, that the people, accustomed to see this horse alone, acquired the habit, even after it was surmounted by the figure of Henry IV., of naming the monument altogether the Horse of Bronze.

Several years rolled away before the entire completion of this equestrian statue. The pedestal was elevated after the design of Civoli. At the four angles were placed figures, paltry enough, which represented the vanquished in chains. The four bas-reliefs of this pedestal represented the battles of Arques and of Ivry, the entrance of Henry IV. into Paris, the capture of Amiens, and that of Montmeliant. The figures of the pedestal and the bas-reliefs were by Francheville. The figure of Henry IV. was executed by Du Pré: he was represented with the head uncovered, the whole body covered with armour *à la Française*, holding in one hand the bridle of his horse, and in the other the bâton of command. In one of the inscriptions which the pedestal bore was found the name of Richelieu, under whom, in 1635, this work was finished.

This monument, the first of the kind which had appeared in Paris, was surrounded with a railing, in front of which was placed a tablet of bronze bearing

an inscription, wherein again appeared the name of Richelieu. It was removed in 1790.

During the divisions which in 1788 agitated the court and the parliament, the head of Henry IV. was crowned with flowers and ribbons.

In the first days of the revolution in 1789, they placed upon the ear of this statue the national cockade.

During the days of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of July, 1790, before the pedestal was placed a vast decoration, representing a rock, upon which the equestrian statue of this king appeared elevated; and during the evenings of those days concerts and dances were performed. No homage was rendered to the statues of the other kings.

In a moment of alarm, and of want of metal to cast cannon, when the army of the king of Prussia was advancing upon Paris, and when the memory of kings was little respected, in the month of August, 1792, all the statues of kings in this city were overturned, that of Henry IV. not being exempted from the proscription.

A new equestrian statue of this king has been erected in the same place.

The sieur d'Esternod, a nobleman and poet, has the frankness to avow himself that he was disposed to steal cloaks in Paris, but that he was arrested in this noble project by considerations which he thus expounds:—

" J'allais *pedetentim*, comme un vieillard caduque,—
J'allais, de rue en rue, en grattant ma perruque,
Feuilletant dans mon chef *de inventione*,
Tirant et arrachant le poil de mon gros nez;

Songeant s'il y avait, pendant cette nuit brune,
Moyen de moyenner la moyenne fortune.
Le diable me tentait *d'arracher des manteaux,*
Et *de tirer la laine* à quelques cocardeaux;
Et j'eus touché peut-être en ces harpes modernes
Si l'on ne m'eut cognu au brillant des lanternes,
Et si je n'eus pas craint qu'un chevalier du guet
M'eut fait faire aux prisons mon premier coup d'essai."

The fear of a punishment which arrests the execution of a criminal act is not a very laudable motive; but the reflections which the author then makes deserve to be related:—

" Je maugréais mon être, et détestais en somme
Le père qui m'avait fait naître gentilhomme,
Disant que si le ciel m'eût créé roturier,
Je saurais misérable, au moins quelque métier."*

Bussi-Rabutin relates that being at Paris, two pickpockets of quality, as he styles them, the baron de Veillac, of the house of Benac, and the chevalier d'Odrieu, being informed that he had received the sum of twelve thousand francs to recruit his regiment, came armed during the night, entered his chamber by the window, and robbed him of a part of it; they would have taken the whole if they had not been scared.†

Luxury was another plague which degraded opinion and perverted morality. The hope of obtaining benefices, places, or pensions, drew all sorts of persons to court, the access to which was easy. In order to be admitted there, it was sufficient to

* L'Espadon Satirique, par le sieur d'Esternod; sat. xv., intitulée Hypocrisie d'une Femme qui feignait d'être Dévote, 1626, p. 163.

† Mémoires Secrets du Comte de Bussi-Rabutin, t. i. p. 22.

wear a dress similar to that of the courtiers — to have the hat shaded with a plume of feathers; to wear haut-de-chausses, a doublet, and a cloak of satin or velvet; to have a long sword suspended from the girdle, — the whole ornamented with carnation-coloured ribbons, and with gold or silver lace. Poor gentlemen purchased their ruin, in order to procure themselves this ostentatious exterior. The *bourgeois* had the same ambition; and real misery accompanied appearances of riches.

This contrast furnished the poets of the time with the subject of several satires: they poured ridicule on the poverty which concealed itself under the cloak of fortune, in order to obtain her favours.*

The court of Louis XIII. attempted to arrest the progress of this extravagance by two sumptuary laws, — the one of 1633, the other of the following year. These laws had for their object by no means to diminish the ravages which luxury made on public morals; but they were founded on the too great dispersion of gold and silver, the want of which was experienced by the royal treasury. The first of these laws is an edict of the 18th of November, 1633, which prohibits all subjects from wearing on their shirts ruffles, &c., and upon other linen any pinking and embroidery of thread of gold and silver lace, &c. manufactured either within or without the kingdom. The consent of the parliament gave an extension to this edict, and found in the *toilette* of the courtiers new objects susceptible of

* The poet Sigaynes has composed three satires on this subject: the one against a courtier's doublet, the other against his haut-de-chausses, and the third against his cloak.

gold and silver embroidery, such as bands, neckkerchiefs, and stockings.

The second, in form of edict, of the month of May, 1634, prohibits for dress the use of all kinds of cloth of gold or of silver, and all embroideries in which these materials are employed. It bears that the richest dresses shall be of velvet, satin, and taffeta, without other ornament than two bands of silk embroidery; forbids the dressing of pages, lackeys, and coachmen otherwise than in woollen stuff, with galloon on the sewing; and prohibits all coachmakers from making and selling coaches or litters ornamented with gold, silver, or silk, and from gilding the wood of them, &c.

The laws also prohibited the places of debauch and the gaming-houses, which were very numerous in Paris, receptacles of sharpers and bullies; but these laws remained unexecuted: the agents of justice sold themselves to the guilty. It was necessary that they should reimburse themselves for the sums they had paid to government for their office. The evil had its source in the government, which always attempted in vain to stop a torrent, the dam of which it had itself opened.

Abduction and illegitimate marriages were then very frequent. A nobleman without fortune carried off from her house a rich widow or young lady, conducted her with violence to a place where a priest was found, who performed the ceremony of marriage, without the consent of the parents of the girl or woman carried off. The count de Chavagnac, in his memoirs, relates that, by the advice of his father, he was married in this violent manner.

These marriages were very common among the noblesse.

The air of the court carried its contagion among almost all classes. Dissimulation, exaggeration of sentiment, transformed society into a troop of players. Did two men who scarcely knew each other meet, you might see them embrace till they almost stifled each other, make protestations of the most entire devotedness, and kiss each other's hands: the *baise-mains* were then very much in fashion. They performed the action of it at every meeting, and the word entered into all the formulas of compliment. This fault is particularly remarked in all the writings of that time. The writers, in their satires or in their eulogiums, thought to elevate themselves to the sublime degree of perfection, when they removed themselves farthest from the limits of truth and nature: every thing was outraged. If they flattered the vanity of powerful men, to draw some money from them,—if they demanded their alms in verse, they intoxicated them with the thick fumes of their incense. Had they to praise magistrates — these surpassed in wisdom the greatest legislators of the world. Warriors — the heroes of Greece and Rome, the demigods, even the gods of High Olympus, were not comparable to them. If they deplored the severity of their mistresses, or boasted of their favours, the same exaggeration was made use of: the one inflicted on them a punishment similar to that of hell —fires and flames devoured their soul, scorched them up, and caused them to languish and die; the charms of the others were divine beauties, their

eyes glancing stars — two suns, the rays of which set on fire all nature. Woe to the women who had incurred the ill-will of these poets: they were depicted with all the most disgusting colours.

The writers of the time paint the nobles to us, the head shaded by a huge plume of feathers, and wearing a cloak of velvet or of taffeta, and boots, white, and furnished with spurs; a long sword by their side; constantly raising their mustachios with two fingers, or with a small stick which they held in their hands; unravelling their beard, which they wore very much pointed; beating the pavement, and making a noise in the gaming-houses, the taverns, and the places of debauchery; never opening their mouths but to blaspheme, and to boast of their birth and their pretended exploits.

When, in 1614, there was a question of giving magistracies to this turbulent noblesse, of which they did not know what to make, some writers, struck with the inconveniences of this project, combated it, bringing forward the want of instruction and the dissolute manners of that *caste*. "It is true," says one of them, "that there are some lords and gentlemen who are well informed, of good sense, and capable of all great administrations; but the number is small, and there are so many others of a very different description. When we hear them usually utter detestable obscenities and blasphemies, when we see them pass their nights in gaming,— in short, commit eagerly a thousand other unworthy or useless actions, — what name should you wish to be given to such people? It seems to me that that of

judges and magistrates, which is so grave and sacred, would not well suit them."

The sieur Duparc, author of the comic romance of *Francion*, a work strewed with adventures which paint the extravagant manners of the reign of Louis XIII., the epoch when it was written, often repeats that his hero Francion is a gentleman full of honour, the enemy of villains, at the same time that he attributes to him very villainous actions. His companions in pleasure make him the depositary each of a sum, and he boasts of not being a faithful depositary. "God knows," says he, "what a good guardian I was of it, and if I had not made use of it in my necessities, &c. I was the bravest of all the brave. It only belonged to me to say a good word against the villains, of whom I am the plague sent from heaven."

The memoirs of the count de Chavagnac are not a romance. The count, who wrote them, details in them actions little creditable to himself and his family, and that would brand with infamy any one else than nobles of that reign. His father, pensioned by the king, and one of the chiefs of the protestant party, had for his mistress at Paris a ruined marchioness, who lived, very honourably, at the expense of her honour, and of the fortune of her lovers. Chavagnac, the son, author of the memoirs, avows that he was kept by this lady, whom his father kept, and that during four months his expenses were defrayed by her; that, at last, his father, finding him concealed in the house of the marchioness, wished to kill him. He says that, in the sequel,

his father, wishing to marry him to a rich widow, the dame de Montbrun, sent fifteen armed gentlemen to the château de Ménial, to carry off this widow. She was carried off and married by force, not for the sake of her charms and her youth—she was without either—but on account of her wealth. As soon as this unfortunate woman was free, and was able to demand justice for this violence, she did so. She resolved to goto the commissioners, whom the king had sent into Auvergne to diminish the authority of the noblesse. Chavagnac was alarmed at this; but his father pointed out to him the place where his wife was to pass, and ordered him to repair thither. He met her, endeavoured to persuade her by all the means he could think of. The wife, indignant, was inflexible. Then appeared the father, Chavagnac, accompanied by six gentlemen. They all drew their swords, and feigned to wish to kill the son, accusing him of having carried off a woman of quality. The father, who had ordered this abduction, protested that his son should die by no other hand but his. He was on the point of plunging a sword into his breast, when the wife, alarmed, threw herself upon her knees before the father, begged of him to pardon the son, and declared, in order to calm him, that she had consented to her being carried off. "My father," says Chavagnac, "made all this noise only to arrive at this point: he took those gentlemen as witnesses; after which he ordered me to beg pardon of her, which she granted me." After the recital of this comedy, Chavagnac informs us, that he acted the part of spy; that he took arms sometimes for, sometimes

against, the court. He makes parade of his treason, and of his numerous debaucheries.

They were also in the habit of not paying their debts. They followed the footsteps of their grandfathers, who threw the bailiffs and their creditors out of the windows of their little fortresses. We shall see, in the sequel, that this noble custom continued. A gentleman living in this reign, and a poet, boasts of this dishonesty, saying, that he is no gentleman who is without creditors :—

" Mais il n'est pas bon gentilhomme
Qui ne doit rien à cejourd'hui."

Bullies, noble frequenters of the tennis courts of Paris, made a profession of assassinating, for their own account, and for that of others. Vengeance or interest directed their arm, indicated the victims, and paid the crime.

Duellists were numerous at Paris, and acquired honour in proportion to the number of persons whom they had killed. The subject of their conversation every day was the number of men killed the night preceding: they only conversed, they only boasted of murders. *Les raffinés d'honneur* were composed of nobles remarkable for excess of irritability. "A glance of the eye, a salutation negligently made, a coolness, a cloak touching theirs, was sufficient for them to call out the person from whom they pretended to have received an affront. Sometimes these *raffinés d'honneur* called out a man whom they did not know, and whom they mistook for another person; and, although the mistake was found out, they did not fail to fight and to kill one another as enemies."

At the court of Louis XIII. the most distinguished *raffinés d'honneur* were Balagni, surnamed the Brave, who was killed in a duel in 1613, Pompignan, Végole, the cadet de Suze, Mortglas, Villemore, La Fontaine, le baron de Montmorin, Petris, &c.; who all died without utility, victims of their false ideas of honour, victims of the desire of having prowess attributed to them, and of gaining by it a reputation among bullies;—"prowess," as D'Aubigné judiciously says, "of which history will never speak but with contempt."

Some signal punishments frightened the duellists, and suspended for a little the disastrous exploits of their honour. The count de Montmorency Bouteville, after having killed several counts and marquises, fought, at the Place-Royale, a battle of three against three. Bussi-d'Amboise, who was of the number, was killed. Bouteville, after this battle, wished to save himself by leaving the kingdom: he was arrested at Vitry, with the sieur de Chapelles, his relative and accomplice. Both of them having been condemned to death, suffered that punishment on the 21st of June, 1627, at the place de Grêve.

It is to this reign that we are indebted for the *petits-maîtres*, the bad taste of the burlesque and affected style, the inflated and pedantic; that we are indebted to the more frequent use of taking and smoking tobacco; for the use of vertugalles, a kind of female dress, which rendered two thirds of the figure like a staved cask. The petticoats, inflated by hoops, formed a cylinder, which concealed the shape, and the apparent consequences of the incontinence

of the ladies. This dress was, also, in some places called " cache-bâtards."

But these are the lightest blots of this period. In almost all its course, civil wars and foreign wars continued, with all the plagues which they bring. Ruined cities, wasted lands, public misery, contagious diseases, which are the ordinary consequences of it, and oppressive taxes, overwhelmed the French. Their despair, although restrained by the terrible tyranny of Richelieu, broke out in several places, and even at Paris.

During this frightful and continual misery, they built magnificent palaces, gave balls and fêtes, and founded a considerable number of useless monasteries. The misfortunes, the sweat and blood of the people, only served to feed, we dare not say satisfy, the ambition of the cardinal, and to strengthen his vast and devouring tyranny.

The press, which under Henry IV. and in the first eleven years of Louis XIII. enjoyed sufficient liberty, was entirely enslaved by this cardinal. He took into his pay writers, whom he employed to cry up his political operations and his personal character. The *Gazette*, which began to appear about his time, only wrote under his dictation. He wished to govern opinion, as he governed a great part of Europe.

This common sewer of corruption, — this amalgamation of the vices and the errors of barbarism, with the dissimulation, the false politeness, the hypocrisy of an imperfect civilisation,—how have they prepared an amelioration in morals? How have they favoured the progress of human knowledge? By what way, in the midst of so much

darkness, has light been able to dart in? Why, a few years after the period, the disorders of which we have just sketched, do we see men shine forth, whose talents and genius find no equals in preceding ages? Why do we remark so great a difference between the cavils, the clumsy sophisms of the reasoners of the age of Louis XIII. and the luminous reason of Pascal? Compare the satires of Regnier of St. Amand, and of a crowd of other poets—satires in which taste and decency are equally outraged, in which the pictures of corruption are painted in the coarsest colours; compare these with the satires of Boileau, and you will perceive the immense distance which exists between these productions of the same kind. Draw a parallel between the farces of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the buffooneries of the theatre of the Marais, and the comedies of Molière; the tragi-comedies of the cardinal-palace, and the tragedies of Corneille and Racine, &c.; the difference is incontestable. What orator under Louis XIII. can be placed by the side of Flechier, Mascaron, Bossuet, and Fénélon?

Richelieu, without wishing it, hastened the march of human knowledge. He founded the French academy, with the sole design, as has been said, of having the tragedy of the Cid criticised by its members. Criticism and discussion in matters of taste were established for the first time. Men began to study the ancients, and to give rules to the language. The cardinal wrote bad tragedies. He built a theatre, the most magnificent that has been seen at Paris: he inspired the taste for the tragic scene—a taste which has been described as the best

fitted to elevate the soul of the spectators, and to inspire them with sentiments of grandeur and generosity. Richelieu had chained up thought, by prohibiting the liberty of the press; a thousand truths, restrained by his tyranny, concealed under the bushel, there fermented. They burst their fetters after his death; the spring, long compressed, only unbent itself with more violence. In vain his successor, Mazarin, attempted to continue the system, to follow the principles of Richelieu; he could not stop the explosion; he was struck by it himself: and light came, as if in torrents, to enlighten the public as to Mazarin and his government. Never before had so much been written.

For the first time since the origin of the monarchy periodical works appeared at Paris. The *Mercure Français*, a volume of which appeared every year, contained the account of public events, the acts of the government, and several historical pieces relative to the state of Europe. This work commenced in 1611, and was continued till the reign of Louis XIII. Although divested of reflections, it was calculated to give rise to them; and the actions of princes were there regularly submitted to the judgment of the public. The authors of the *Mercure*, encouraged by its success, conceived the plan of establishing a *Bureau d'Addresses*, or *dépôt* of different objects of merchandise to be exchanged or sold; and of having the announcement of these articles printed and published. This plan was put in execution in 1630. In the sequel, they thought of joining to these advertisements political news; and for the first time, in

1637, they published a periodical sheet, under the title of *Gazette*, which appeared every week, and cost only two liards.* This second periodical work, which appeared at very near periods, and which was the original of the *Gazette de France*, must have contributed much, in spite of its dryness, in spite of the influence which the cardinal de Richelieu exercised over its editorship, to propagate knowledge. The uniform recital of an event spread at the same time in different places, gave less hold than a verbal account to exaggeration and error; and the acknowledged lies which this minister caused to be inserted became a subject of thought, and an exercise for the understanding.

It was also during this period that among the different bodies engaged in education there was established a salutary rivalry and emulation, which tended to the prosperity of learning. The jesuits, long driven from the schools, wished to prove the superiority of their method over other professors; all, in emulation, strove to surpass each other. The seminaries established under this reign, if they were of little use to the progress of human knowledge, contributed to diminish the number of ignorant and scandalous priests.

Industry participated in this movement, and was the effect of it. In 1614, Francis Micaire, a master saddler, and Jean de Saint Blunon, a joiner, obtained permission to put in practice an invention, the object of which was to construct coaches more commodious than those which were then in use. Denis

* About a halfpenny.

de Foligny was also authorised, in 1632, to render navigable several rivers which were not so before.

In the same year the art of writing was reformed. Louis Barbedor, syndic of the writers of Paris, and one named Le Bé, fixed, by copies, the first, the form of the French letters, and the second, that of the Italian letters.

CHAP. II.

LOUIS XIII. CONTINUED.

State of the Protestants.

THE eternal enemies of the protestants persisted in the project of destroying them; and having failed in their attempts of making a second St. Bartholomew, which was to take place after the assassination of Henry IV., they took advantage of the time when the king took arms against the dukes of Rohan and of Soubise, chiefs of the protestant insurgents in Poitou, &c., to attempt to exterminate those who lived peaceably at Paris. On Sunday the 26th of September, 1621, the duke de Montbazon, governor of Paris, being informed of this plan of extermination, granted an escort to the Parisians who went to the protestant church at Charenton: the civil and criminal lieutenants, the captain of the watch, and their archers, strengthened this escort. The protestants met with no disturbance in their morning service; but on their return from that of the evening they were assaulted, on the road towards the valley of Fécan*, by a troop of vagabonds and armed robbers, who had first attacked those who were in coaches and on horseback. The protestants who

* The valley which bore this name is represented at present by a street of the same name, which, in the fauxbourg of St. Antoine, forms the continuation of the rue de la Planchette.

were on foot joined the archers of their escort, and, being furnished with arms, they offered a vigorous resistance to this troop of brigands. The latter, discouraged by this resistance, thought less of fighting than of insulting and pillaging those whom they found unarmed. On their road they met and attacked several individuals who were not protestants, robbed them of their cloaks, and, under pretext of satisfying themselves that they had chaplets and were catholics, they carried off their purses.

After a combat, in which on both sides several persons were killed or wounded, the protestants continued their way to Paris, and the brigands went to Charenton. There they burst open the first gate of the court of the church, pillaged some shops and houses, and then set fire to the church. After this expedition the troop of brigands divided: one part returned to Paris by the usual road; the other crossed the Seine, at *port-à-l'Anglais*, and entered the city by the fauxbourg Saint Marcel.

However, the protestants with their escort, after having sustained the combat of the valley of Fécan, disposed themselves to enter Paris by the porte St. Antoine, when they were assailed anew by another troop of brigands posted near that gate of the city. It was necessary to fight a new battle. The magistrates, the captain of the watch, and their archers, used all their efforts to suppress the fury of this excited and paid populace; but they were not able completely to effect it.

The provost of the merchants, the same night, gave

orders to all the captains of the city to establish corps-de-garde in their respective quarters, in order to keep the seditious in awe. The following day the parliament passed a decree, which ordered prompt informations against the murders and the burnings of the night, with prohibitions, under pain of death, of assembling. But, as if the chiefs of the sedition had wished to brave the parliament, and to turn its decrees into derision, they put again the same day their satellites in motion. Some went to Charenton, and pillaged and ruined, without opposition, two houses belonging to protestants which had remained untouched; others collected in the faux-bourg St. Marcel, and committed several excesses. Three persons of the protestant religion were massacred, and several of the rioters were killed. These last, being informed that the protestants, in order to save themselves, had taken refuge in the buildings of the Gobelins, endeavoured to burst the gates. M. de Montbazon, being informed of their sanguinary design, went thither with his forces, attempted by addressing them to disperse the rioters, and withdrew. He had scarcely retired when the rioters began to commit new excesses. They proceeded into the rue de Postes, where they pillaged two houses belonging to protestants. The magistrates, assisted by the armed force, repaired thither immediately, and surprised four of these pillagers loaded with goods, which they had taken in these houses, and which they were carrying to their own homes. Two of these robbers were, the following day, hanged in the place de Grève. Two others were, the same day, branded and whipped,

and banished for nine years. These executions entirely stifled the insurrection; and the chiefs adjourned their projects of destruction to more favourable times.

Chamber of Justice.

A few observations at this place may not be uninteresting on the chamber of justice, established at the arsenal by the cardinal de Richelieu, and composed of his creatures. It was instituted by him for the purpose of spreading terror among his enemies, and of giving some legal colour to the assassinations which his ambition meditated. In order not to startle people by the establishment of this extraordinary tribunal, the cardinal declared at first that it would have for its sole province the crime of false coinage; as is expressly stated in the letters-patent of the 14th June, 1631, which place this chamber of justice in a hall of the palace. Other letters-patent, of the 16th September of the same year, transferred this chamber to the arsenal; and, without precisely declaring it, suffer it to appear that it will be destined to judge, besides the crime above mentioned, several other crimes. They began with the trial of several false coiners; and in the case of a gentleman named Henri de Grèce, sieur de Vaugrenier, there arose a pretty keen dispute between the new chamber and the parliament. The parliament had already commenced the procedure, and the accused was in the prisons of the Conciergerie. Nevertheless, the chamber of the arsenal ordered that the particulars of the trial, as well as the accused, should be delivered over to it.

The parliament opposed the execution of this ordonnance, and, on the 18th of November, 1631, commanded the registers, the ushers, &c., not to obey it. Then the chamber of the arsenal, seeing its ordonnance despised, wished to have the register of the *bailliage* of the Palais arrested, and imprisoned in the Bastile the lieutenant-general of this *bailliage*. The king's advocate, Bignon, protested loudly against these violent and extraordinary forms, declaimed against the chamber of the arsenal, and complained that this chamber, having condemned to death two false coiners, had executed them in the place de Grêve *during the night*. He demanded that remonstrances should be made to the king against these nocturnal executions. The parliament decided that the remonstrances should be made.

The council of the king did not wait till the parliament came to make its remonstrances. On the 31st of December, 1631, it annulled all which that court had done against the chamber of the arsenal; moreover, it ordered the parliament to appear before the king, who was then in Champagne. The deputation of the parliament was obliged to repair thither. The king made the deputation wait a long time, and received it with much ill-humour: "I have sent for you," said he, "to signify to you my displeasure against my parliament, and what I wish to be done in future." Then the keeper of the seals explained the motives of this displeasure, and the will of the king. In his discourse he reproached the parliament with continuing its deliberations against the acts of the chamber of the arsenal, notwithstanding the orders of the sovereign; declared to it that its re-

monstrances should not be listened to, and commanded it to make no more. "The king," said he, "does not wish the parliament to meddle in his affairs, and commands you to retire, and go and fulfil your duties."

The president of the deputation, after a very humble reverence, said, that the commands which the king had just given were proofs of his anger: "that stops me," continued he, "for it is not permitted to your subjects to justify themselves in presence of their king when irritated." He protested his entire obedience for the future; and, in the name of his company, he begged the recall of his brethren who had been exiled or interdicted: he added, that the public was very much scandalised by the establishment of a new impost, and by the conduct of the chamber established at the arsenal; that the parliament hoped his majesty would have the justice to revoke both; and that Louis XI. had regretted his having maltreated his parliament.

At these words the king was seen to change colour, and to show great emotion: he was seldom accustomed to pronounce a discourse composed of several sentences; but, inspired by his rage, he delivered the following extemporaneous effusion:—"I am not prepared to reply to you, but I wish to tell you, that you are encroaching upon my authority. You meddle with the relief of my subjects; I have more care for them than you. You have told me that the individuals in your company have learned to obey me; nevertheless they have little remembered it. You are only established to render justice between Peter and John. If you continue your enterprises,

I will cut your nails so close that you shall smart for it." Here he added several other words of rage. After having received this broadside, the members of the deputation made a very profound reverence, and retired.

The members of the chamber of the arsenal could then, without fearing the least obstacle, serve the vengeance of the cardinal de Richelieu, and fulfil the unworthy office of condemners. The prisons were filled with victims destined for the scaffold. The chamber of the arsenal continued till the death of its founder, the cardinal Richelieu.

On several other occasions, besides the one above mentioned, Louis XIII. manifested his anger against the parliament. On the 20th December, 1635, he held his bed of justice to register sixteen pecuniary edicts, the greater number of them very burdensome; he recited his ordinary phrase:—"I am come into this place on the occasions which present themselves, and have commanded the chancellor to tell you what is my intention." The chancellor, Peter Segnier, a creature of the cardinal's, explained the motive and the object of these edicts, and did not read them. The parliament, not being able, according to its rules, to register them without knowing them, prepared to make remonstrances. The cardinal was informed of it: he made the king write to the parliament a very threatening letter; and on the 4th January, 1636, that court received orders to repair the following day to St. Germain-en-Laye. The king said to them, "I am greatly displeased at what has passed in my parliament since I was there to hold my bed of justice; I am inflamed with rage:

my chancellor will explain to you my will." The chancellor made a discourse, tending to prove that the authority of the king was without bounds, and that the parliament owed him complete obedience. The first president begged of the king permission to speak, and to justify the parliament. "No, I will not," said the king. The president renewed his humble entreaties to allow him to explain that the misdemeanors of the parliament were not real. "No, I will hear nothing, and will be obeyed." What should we say of a judge who should pronounce against an accused person without hearing him? It reminds one of Rhadamanthus, the fabled judge of hell:—

"Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auditque dolos: subigitque fateri."

The second line of which sir Edward Coke has thus translated:—"First he punisheth, and *then* he heareth; and lastly, compelleth to confess."

CHAP. III.

LOUIS XIV.

During the reign of Louis XIII. barbarism still maintained its superiority over civilisation; but these two states towards the middle of the career of Louis XIV., by the decline of the one and the advancement of the other, found themselves at the same level, balanced, and produced remarkable contrasts. The same individual exhibited, according to circumstances, excessive politeness and shocking barbarity, caresses and treason, pride and baseness, devotion and debauchery. In the same ranks were seen genius and talents of the first order by the side of ignorance and gross errors; odious crimes by the side of acts of virtue; shameful vices associated with heroism.

The time of the regency of Anne of Austria resembles, in some respects, that of the regency of Mary de Medicis. The same causes produced similar effects. The struggle of feudal power against monarchical power was, at the second epoch, as fierce as at the first. All the attempts of an audacious ambition, all the ignoble resources, were put in play: the princes and nobles, in the one period as in the other, demanded of the court, with menaces, and arms in their hands, new dignities, an increase of fortune and of authority. The government, which was not always the strongest, opposed to

these demands artifice and corruption; and, to increase its partisans, it purchased at a high price the submission of these princes and nobles. These degrading contracts, and the bad faith of those who made them, were not the only examples of corruption which the court offered to the public. Mazarin made a traffic of all the employments, of all the dignities, of all the benefices.

If he sacrificed every thing to the desire of increasing his riches, he showed the same disposition to maintain his power. Did he believe himself menaced by some ambitious man; it cost Mazarin nothing to satisfy him and gain him over. He lavished places, governments, and, above all, the honorary titles of count and duke, which he degraded by multiplying them without measure; but he did not lavish gold. Insensible to injuries as to benefits, the hateful and vindictive passions were strangers to him. Nothing turned him aside from his principal end. The Parisians published against him a vast quantity of satires and songs. He received them with the most cool indifference. "They *sing*," said he; "they shall pay." The greater number of those whom he created counts and dukes had borne arms against him. "I will make so many dukes," said he also, "that it will be disgraceful to be one, and disgraceful not to be one." He had so multiplied dignities that they were despised, which occasioned a lady to say, who asked a dukedom for her husband, that she did not ask it for the honour of being one, but to avoid the shame of not being one; and the reason of this was, that he counted for nothing the favours which were on

parchment, and that he would rather make ten dukes and peers than give ten crowns.

This eminent personage took, without shame, whatever he could lay hold of. During the wars of the Fronde, the king, then young, being at Corbeil, the superintendent of finances sent him a hundred louis d'or for his privy purse. Mazarin put them into his own pocket, and did not leave the king one *sou*.

In the first rank of the princes who appeared with distinction was he who has been named the great Condé. He was certainly an able warrior; but his public and private conduct does not offer an example of good morals. He assumed and quitted by turns the side of the court and that of the Fronde, and figured in both only to slake the thirst of his ambition. Several assassinations, several massacres, and, in particular, that of the place de Grève, appeared to be his work. When vanquished he deserted his country, threw himself into the arms of the Spaniards, then the most formidable enemies of France, and directed, during eight consecutive years, the war against his country. At last, when, in 1660, peace was concluded with Spain, seeing himself without resources, he laid aside his haughtiness, and had not the courage to support the reverses of fortune. He came to court at Aix in Provence, threw himself at the king's feet, begged his pardon, and humbled himself before the cardinal, his greatest enemy. He did not repair, but he caused to be forgotten, the evils which he had brought upon his country by services which he then rendered to the court.

This prince did not make a point either of keeping

his word or paying his debts. He had a haughty, insolent, stern, and imperious character, which made him generally detested.

Each seigneur or nobleman belonged to a patron, served him as long as he found it for his profit, and quitted him to take another. These seigneurs had patrons, and not a country. It is for that reason that, under the minority of Louis XIV., as under that of Louis XIII., half the nobles took part with the court, and the other half against it. They acted thus, not in virtue of the ancient laws of feudal vassalage fallen into disuse, but by a relict of habits which those laws had left. The count de Tavanes ranged himself under the banners of the prince de Condé, not because he was his vassal, but because he had given himself to him. He quitted in discontent the service of this prince, and joined the king's party. Rebellion was then considered a very light crime, compared to what it was in the time of the constable Bourbon, or in the height of Louis XIV.'s power.

The greatest disorders reigned in the army of all the parties. The soldiers, the officers, the colonels of regiments, the generals, abandoned themselves, without restraint and without shame, to robbery. While the prince de Condé was at Paris, and his army in the neighbourhood, six cavaliers of the regiment of his name robbed to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns' worth of merchandise, which some burgesses of Paris had brought at a great expense. These burgesses, having succeeded in seizing four of the robbers, delivered them into the hands of the count de Tavanes, who com-

manded the army of Condé. This count saved the robbers. The burgesses, disappointed of their hopes, went and complained to the prince, who, wishing to ingratiate himself with the Parisians, got into a great rage, and ordered the count de Chavagnac to go to the army in order to recover the merchandise stolen, telling him that, if he did not recover it, his head should answer for it. Chavagnac, piqued at this order, and at this menace, did not obey. "I was even on the point," says he, "of knocking down one of those knaves (the robbed burgesses), who asked me when I meant to go to the army." The robbers kept their prey; and the burgesses were treated as knaves, and narrowly escaped being knocked down! Such was the morality of the nobles at that time!*

The court of Louis XIV., flying from the army of the prince of Condé, went to Gien à Saint-Fargeau, thence to Auxerre, to Joigni, to Montereau. During this journey all the great lords of the king's party pillaged every where, and even pillaged one another. They ate up one another; and the insolence was carried to such a point, that the count de ——, brother of M. Broglio, pillaged the king's small stable. He had as little respect for the livery of his majesty as for that of the meanest of the Croats. Givry, the king's groom, was sent to demand back the horses: he was laughed at.†

The count de Chavagnac, persuaded that baseness and robbery could not tarnish the honour of noblemen, boasts in real earnest, in his memoirs, of

* Mémoires de La Porte, p. 279, 280.

† Mémoires de Chavagnac, p. 155, &c.

his vices, his meanness, and his criminal conduct. He informs the public that he acted the part of spy at Paris; that he quitted and joined, by turns, the party of Mazarin, that of the Fronde, and that of the prince de Condé. He then relates that, being in Auvergne, the duke de Candale, governor of that country, obtained for him from the court a *breret* of camp marshal, with the charge of conducting back the cavalry of Catalonia, which, having abandoned that Spanish province contrary to the orders of the king, was cantoned in the Pays de Foix. Chavagnac wanted money to complete his equipment; the duke, in order to facilitate the means of his acquiring it, gave him a company of his gens d'armes. He travelled with it as far as Moissac; and during this passage, of about fifty leagues, he committed so many acts of violence on the road, that he gained thereby about 24,000 livres. He says himself, *the route was worth to me a thousand louis d'or.* Having accomplished his mission in the Pays de Foix, he returned with his cavalry into the Agénois. He says, "I had by my route 1200 pistoles (12,000 livres), without counting six fine horses which I purchased."*

That is to say, by means of extortion, Chavagnac and his troop lived the whole length of the route at the expense of the inhabitants of the country; and, in addition, he carried off from them, one time a thousand louis d'or, another time 1200 pistoles. Would a chief of robbers do better? Chavagnac, in boasting of these things, believed that he deserved the consideration of his noble contemporaries.

* Mémoires de Chavagnac, p. 159.

The debauchery of the young courtiers was extreme; so much so, that we cannot sully our pages with any thing resembling a complete picture of it; therefore, at present, we pass on to the luxury of dress.

The richness of dress, of equipages, — the gold, the pearls, and the diamonds with which they were loaded, — procured for those who made a parade of them a consideration which is only due to virtue. This factitious merit, which was often procured by disgraceful actions, dispensed with real merit; the public, seduced by the sense of sight, gave to riches, or to their appearance, homage which ought to be the recompense of great and useful actions. These examples set by the king to the courtiers, by the courtiers to the inferior class, led astray public opinion and corrupted morality. Louis XIV. surpassed most of his predecessors in this custom of barbarism: he was persuaded that the great richness of his dress contributed to his personal greatness, and to the splendour of his throne; it did not occur to him that posterity judges of the man by his actions, and not by his clothes. When, in February, 1715, the Jesuits, in order to amuse Louis XIV., imagined the scheme of sending to him an ambassador from the king of Persia, and employed a foreign merchant to play that part at the court of France, the monarch, always the dupe of the knavery of those priests, thought that, in order to receive in a befitting manner this pretended ambassador, he ought to display before his eyes all his magnificence. "He assumed," says Dangau, "a dress of cloth of gold, embroidered with diamonds;

there was about twelve millions five hundred thousand livres' worth of it: the dress was so heavy that the king changed it after dinner." *

The princes and the greatest lords went and got drunk at the cooks' shops † and in the taverns: they there made a disturbance, beat the domestics, and broke the furniture; and, out of respect for feudalism, all these pieces of insolence remained unpunished. They swore like men of the lowest class.

The nobles, under the reign of Louis XIII. and under the minority of Louis XIV., fell into the last state of degradation. The civil wars had restored to them all the vices of feudalism: they conducted themselves as the enemies alike of the king and of the people; and their ferocity in the provinces equalled their baseness at the court. Among them were found some men of war; there was not found among them a single man of worth: they were the slaves of Mazarin, and of the superintendents Bullion and Fouquet.

We have already shown in what way Mazarin degraded these nobles. Bullion also degraded them in the following manner: — In 1640, having struck for the first time louis d'or, he invited to dinner five of the most distinguished noblemen of the court, and at the dessert he ordered to be served up three large basins full of that rich money. At this sight each of these great seigneurs set to work eagerly with his hands, filled his pockets with it, and, loaded with this booty, ran off, without waiting for his coach. Bullion laughed to see these seigneurs

* Mémoires de Dangeau, par mad. de Sartory, tom.ii. p.117.

† Chez les traiteurs. *Restaurateurs* would be the word now.

retire with such speed, tottering under the weight of the gold which they had seized. It was thus that, to render courtiers contemptible, and to laugh at their rapacity, Bullion wasted the treasures of the state.

Fouquet gave, in his château de Vaux, a magnificent fête to Louis XIV. Each seigneur who was invited found, in the chamber which was destined for him, a purse filled with gold, which he did not forget to carry away.

This state of things changed sensibly, when, after the death of Mazarin, Louis XIV. confided to Colbert the part of the administration which had most influence on human knowledge and morals. This minister opened to the sciences, to the arts, and to industry, a new career. The foundation of academies, the establishment of an observatory, the throwing open of the public libraries, &c. gave a strong impulse to intellectual cultivation.

Louis XIV. renounced, and, in imitation, his courtiers also renounced, those gross expressions and oaths which are no longer in use except among the least civilised class of society. Men no longer dared to make parade of their bad habits: they were not better, but they appeared to be so; and, in this state of things, hypocrisy is a vice the more for him who is stained with it, and a danger the less for the public. With hypocrisy examples of corruption appear more rare, and are on that account less contagious. To conceal vicious actions is, impliedly, to condemn them; it is to avow the shame of them.

The administration of justice presented many abuses. In the towns and in the country, animals

were still considered as amenable to the tribunals. They proceeded in form against pigs, dogs, field mice, caterpillars; and the clergy gravely pronounced sentences of excommunication against those animals guilty of delinquencies; they then delivered them over to the secular judges. Racine, in his comedy of the *Plaideurs*, exposed the absurdity of this jurisprudence, worthy of past ages; but, not being abolished by any law, it still maintained itself.

At the same time the government undertook the punishment of crimes committed by powerful men, and the repression of the outrages of feudalism. The poor inhabitants of the country, without defence, subjected to the execrable tyranny of their seigneurs, were, with impunity, outraged, pillaged, beaten, mutilated, murdered, and reduced to the most abject submission. These excesses, and their impunity, could not accord with the plans of amelioration conceived by Colbert. Recourse was then had to a remedy which preceding kings had employed, when the disorders were at their height. Commissions of judges, composed of members of the parliament, and appointed to judge promptly and without appeal the guilty, were sent into the provinces. This extraordinary tribunal was named Les Grands Jours. It commenced by exercising its terrible and salutary functions in the province of Auvergne.

These Grands Jours frightened and restrained the nobles of the provinces, but did not convert them. Time soon weakened the impression which they had received. They returned to their feudal habits:

they gave themselves up to those towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV.; under that of Louis XV., and even up to the epoch of the revolution, they furnish examples of baseness at court, and of tyranny in the provinces.

The affair of the poisons is an episode which strongly characterises the morals of the reign of Louis XIV. On this scene of crimes first figured Marie Marguerite d'Aubrai, wife of Antoine Gobelins, marquis de Brinvilliers. She poisoned her sister, her brothers, her father, &c. She was a devotee, and frequented the hospitals; it is said that she there tried her poisons on the patients. On the 16th July, 1676, she was condemned to death, decapitated, and burned.

The example of a marchioness condemned to the last punishment was of little avail. The poisonings, and the magical practices with which they were associated, were renewed a few years after, and spread terror among a great number of families; every day produced new victims of hatred, ambition, and avarice. The king, by an ordonnance of the 11th January, 1680, established, at the arsenal, a commission appointed to try poisoners and magicians.

Several persons of the court were compromised in this affair. Among the principal authors of these crimes figured Catharine Deshaies, widow of the sieur de Mont Voisin, commonly called La Voisin. La Voisin, who lived like a woman of quality, compounded, and sold to the ladies and lords of the court, poisons, charms, and magical secrets; she dabbled in divination, and, at need, showed the devil.

Curious and strange details on this subject are contained in the following letter of the count de Bussi-Rabutin, dated 27th January, 1680, and addressed to the sieur de La Rivière:—"Great news, monsieur: the chamber of poisons has given a decree of imprisonment against M. de Luxembourg, against the countess de Soissons, against the marquis d'Alluye, and against madame de Polignac. As soon as M. de Luxembourg had learned it he left Paris, and went to Saint Germain, where he did not see the king; but he asked for a lettre de cachet to enter the Bastille, which his majesty granted him.

"The king sent, on Tuesday, M. de Bouillon to tell the countess de Soissons that, if she felt herself innocent, she should enter the Bastille, and that he would treat her as his friend; but *that, if she were guilty, she might retire wherever she pleased.* She sent word to the king that she was very innocent, but that she could not bear imprisonment. She then departed with the marchioness d'Alluye, at four o'clock on Wednesday morning, with two coaches and six: she is gone, they say, into Flanders.*

"An order has been sent into Auvergne to arrest madame de Polignac.

"An order for personal attendance has been given to madame de Bouillon, to the princess de Tingri, to the *maréchale* de La Ferté, and to madame du Roure.

"There is, moreover, a decree of imprisonment against Le Sage. It is said that the crime of M. de Luxembourg is having poisoned, when with the

* The countess de Soissons was famous at the court of Louis XIV. for her depraved morals.

army, an intendant of contributions, from whom he had taken the king's money.

"The countess de Soissons was accused of having poisoned her husband; the marchioness d'Alluye, of having poisoned her father-in-law; the princess de Tingri, of having poisoned children of whom she was delivered.

"Madame de Polignac was accused of having poisoned a valet de chambre, *qui servait ses commerces amoureux* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Madame de Bouillon, having to answer before the commissaries of the chamber of poisons, went thither on Monday last, accompanied by nine duke's coaches; M. de Vendôme conducted her. M. de Besons first asked her if she was not come to answer to the interrogatories which should be put to her? She said, Yes; but, before entering on the matter, she declared to him, that all she might say should not prejudice the rank which she held, nor all its privileges; and she did not wish to say or hear any thing more than the register had written. M. de Besons enquired of her what she had asked of La' Voisin. She replied, that she had begged her to show her the Sibyls, with whom she had always wished to converse; and after eight or ten other questions of as little importance, to which she always answered scoffingly, M. de Besons told her that she might go; and M. de Vendôme giving her his hand, on the threshold of the door of the chamber, she said, quite aloud, that she had never heard so many sillinesses spoken with so grave a tone. She said that she would have her interrogatory printed, and

sent into foreign countries. This greatly annoyed the king; in fact, she turned the chamber of justice into ridicule."

La Voisin was condemned to be burned alive; which sentence was put in execution, 22d of July, 1680. Several other persons of all ranks were, during that and the following year, arrested by order of the commission appointed to investigate the affair of the poisons, and condemned to different punishments.

An ordonnance of the month of July, 1682, gave a fatal blow to these ancient errors, and considerably limited the infernal power. In this ordonnance the trade of divination was termed a vain profession, and those who exercised it were treated as corrupters of the minds of the people. Sorcerers still appeared, but, by virtue of this ordonnance, they were no longer condemned but as deceivers and poisoners. As soon as the tribunals refused to believe in the supernatural power of sorcerers, the number of them rapidly diminished.

The clergy, if we except some men of genius, who threw a lustre over their age, and some others who recommended themselves by their talents and the regularity of their morals, were still plunged in ignorance and dissoluteness. When the conversion of the protestants was undertaken, there was scarcely found in the provinces any priest capable of instructing them by his discourse, or of edifying them by his conduct. The king by his gallantries set the example of irregularity. The cardinals and the bishops of his court imitated him, as well as his other courtiers. Madame de Scudéry, in one of

her letters, after mentioning the extreme richness and foppery of the dress of the cardinals, speaks of an abbess, who received in her parlour a collection of all sorts of people: "three or four bishops (*amans évêques* is the term in the original), of whom M. de Noyon, fool as he is, is the most noted; three or four foreigners; some singers;—these are the sort of persons of whom are composed madame's admirers."

The morals of cardinal de Retz, archbishop of Paris; those of other cardinals, particularly Mazarin; those of Etienne Le Camus, bishop of Grenoble; those of Villeroi, archbishop of Lyons, of the abbé de Vatteville, &c. &c., certainly do not speak in favour of the morality of the clergy.

An archbishop of Paris, Francis de Harlay de Champvalon, famous for his debaucheries, presents himself to complete the picture: he had several mistresses, in the first rank of whom figured the lady de Bretonvilliers. The following is from a letter of the 27th February, 1780:—"Madame de Bretonvilliers has for some time past employed herself, in order the better to amuse M. the archbishop of Paris, in persuading the little Varenne to visit him. The archbishop found her prettier than La Cathédrale; so that he has made her of all the parties of Conflans. * Pierre-Pont, a lieutenant of the gardes-du-corps, the little Varenne's lover, being jealous of the prelate, * * * * *
* * * * * *
but at last the archbishop persuaded the king that Pierre-Pont was a jansenist,—for you know well

* The public named this lady La Cathédrale.

that the rivals of the fathers of the church are not of the true religion, — and thereupon he was sent away to his government."*

This prelate had several other mistresses, particularly the marchioness de Gourville. He was going to receive a cardinal's hat, at that time the usual reward of vice; but, in the month of August, 1695, a stroke of apoplexy suddenly put an end to his life, and deprived him of that dignity. "The question now is," then wrote madame de Sévigné, "to find some one who would undertake his funeral oration. They pretend that there are only two small trifles which render that work difficult — his life, and his death."

The corruption of the women of the court was extreme. The manuscript collection of songs or vaudevilles of this reign offers a disgusting picture of it. It agrees very well with that which Boileau has traced, in a more polished style, in his satire on the women; in which the poet thus reduces the number of those who were exempt from reproach:—

> "Sans doute; et dans Paris, si je sais bien compter,
> Il en est jusqu'à trois que je pourrais nommer."

After rejecting what exaggeration and poetical malice may have added in these songs and in this satire, there will always remain truths which, unluckily for the honour of the ladies of the court, are confirmed by far more grave authorities. Several examples given on such authorities by M. Dulaure, however wholesome the moral they may

* Supplément aux Mémoires et Lettres du Comte Bussi-Rabutin, 2de partie, p. 172.

contain, will, from their grossness, not bear repetition in the present state of English literature.

Colbert, to whom Louis XIV. was indebted for whatever of most glorious his reign exhibited, died in 1683. At this epoch commenced the third, and the saddest, portion of the life of this king.

In order to acquire a false glory, he had made war; he was reduced to continue it in his own defence. The period of reverses and of want soon succeeded to that of triumphs. Ennui, satiety, vexations, took possession of the mind of the monarch. Divided between his mistresses and his confessor — between the charms of the ladies de Montespan, de Fontange, &c., and the eloquence of père La Chaise — after long hesitation he yielded to the suggestions of that jesuit. Père La Chaise, by way of expiating so many faults, put him on the *régime* of puerile and superstitious practices; as if a few acts of abstinence, a few prayers, and a few relics, could repair innumerable evils, could bring back to life the hundreds of thousands of men whom Louis XIV. had slaughtered. Père La Chaise, fearing lest the mistresses of Louis XIV. should gain an ascendant over his mind, which he alone wished to possess, confined himself to censuring his gallantries, to removing his favourites during the Easter festivals, to intriguing against them, and to troubling his conscience as to the terrors of a future life. In this state of things, the king took the widow of a burlesque poet named Scarron, created her duchess de Maintenon, and married her secretly.

From the year 1682, Louis XIV., instigated by

his confessor, manifested his inclination for devotion, and his resolution to convert forcibly the protestants of his kingdom: thinking himself sufficiently powerful to command opinions and habits, and to make himself obeyed, he wished that all his subjects should be devout, or converted. The only plausible means which he could employ for this purpose was persuasion;—he did not employ it. The courtiers, of both sexes, in order to maintain themselves in favour, put a constraint upon themselves, and added to their other vices a new vice — hypocrisy.

The libertines and the women of intrigue of the court assumed the mask; they attended mass and the sermon every time the king was there. Brissac, major of the guards, removed one day this mask of devotion with which the courtiers covered themselves. He entered the chapel where the king was to go; the galleries were filled with ladies; he said, loud enough to be heard by them, "Gardes, retirez-vous dans vos salles; le roi ne viendra point:" the guards withdrew. The ladies, persuaded that the king would not come, extinguished their tapers, and retired. A short time after the king arrived, and was surprised to see the galleries unfurnished with the ladies who usually went there. Brissac related to him the trick which he had just played them; the prince laughed at it, but was not more enlightened by it.*

Louis XIV., by his own confession and that of madame de Maintenon, was very ill instructed in

* Mémoires de Saint-Simon, tom. iv. p. 104. Louis XIV. sa Cours, &c. tom. ii. p. 133.

matters of religion. His confessors took advantage of his ignorance to rule his mind, and to direct it according to their pleasure. Father La Chaise and father Letellier persuaded him, by turns, to persecute, the one the protestants, and the other the jansenists. He made pilgrimages, covered his body with relics, and was initiated in the order of the jesuits. With such practices he believed himself a Christian, believed that he was following the religion of the Gospel, which he never read;—he only followed the religion of the jesuits.

However, he still continued for some years his habits of gallantry; and he was not even always a scrupulous observer of the abstinences prescribed by the church. From a manuscript account of his domestic expenses in the year 1688, it appears that on Fridays, Saturdays, and fast days, all the tables were served *en maigre* as well as his own; but, by a singular exception, the king on these days *faisait toujours gras à dejeuner*.

The son of Louis XIV., known under the name of *grand dauphin*, placed in the rank of the greatest crimes the action *de manger gras* on a day of abstinence. He sent secretly for one of his mistresses, the actress Raisin; and, because it was a fast, he made her fast; he regaled her with bread fried in oil, and with salad. "I asked the prince," says the princess, the king's sister-in-law, in one of her letters, "why he thought of treating his mistress in this way?" "I was willing," he replied, "to commit one crime, but not to commit two."*

* Fragmens de Lettres Originales de Mad. Charlotte-Elisabeth de Bavière, tom. ii. p. 83.

The jesuit Letellier, last confessor of Louis XIV., inspired by a fiery ambition, was the author of the bull Unigenitus: he employed several means of seduction and knavery to oblige the pope to sign it; tormented the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris; kindled the fire of discord among the clergy of France; and excited against several persons and several respectable corporations a persecution which Louis XIV. seconded with all his might, and which only terminated with the expulsion of the suits This père Letellier discovered one day a part of his religious opinions. Some one opposed to his doctrine those of St. Paul, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas; he replied, "St. Paul and St. Augustine are hot heads, whom in the present day we would put in the Bastille. As to St. Thomas, you may think what regard I would pay to a dominican, when I trouble myself little about an apostle."

In speaking of the intrigues of courtiers, madame de Maintenon thus writes to one of her friends: "These people are sometimes deceivers, sometimes deceived, and often both." "I am not inclined to distrust," says she, in another place, "and I should live long without believing men so bad as they were said to be; but the court changes the best. Almost all give up their relations and their friends to say a word more to the king, and to show him that they sacrifice every thing to him. . . . . This region is frightful; there is not a head which is not turned by it. . . . . I see and hear things which displease or make me indignant. We have assassinations in cold blood, envy without cause, angers, treasons, insatiable avarice, despair in the

midst of good fortune; baseness, which they cover over with the name of greatness of soul. I am silent; I cannot think of it with calmness."

The baseness of which madame de Maintenon speaks formed, in fact, the prevailing character of the frequenters of the court of Louis XIV. To be convinced of it, we have only to read the numerous memoirs of this reign; the writers of these made a boast of their turpitude. What contempt, what humiliation, did not the great seigneurs of this court brave, in order to obtain pensions, dignities, and decorations!

The count Bussi-Rabutin, in a letter addressed to madame Montmorency, of the 8th October, 1677, says, speaking of court intrigues, "I am, as much as I can, of the party of the strongest."

"Il faut," said the marshal de Villeroi, governor of Louis XV., "tenir le pot de chambre aux ministres tantqu'ils sont en place: et le leur verser sur la tête quand ils n'y sont plus." He added, "Whatever minister comes into place, I declare in advance, that I am his slave, his friend, and even, in some sort, his relation."* These sentiments were not confined to this period. Madame Roland declares that, immediately after her husband came into office, she received an immense number of letters from persons claiming kindred with her, most of whom she had never heard of before.

These courtiers aspired with ardour to the advantages of domestic service: they counted themselves honoured by being degraded. The cardinal de Polignac, having received from the king the reversion

* Mémoires Secrets sur la Règne de Louis XIV. par Duclos, p. 194. edit. 1808.

of a pension of six thousand livres, thanked him, and said, that although he was overwhelmed by his favours, he could not believe himself perfectly happy till he should have the honour of being his domestic.

Some solicited escheats and confiscations, in order to enrich themselves at the expense of unfortunate families. The duke de Guiche obtained, in this way, the confiscation of the property which Dutch subjects had in Poitou. The abbé de Polignac, the most greedy of courtiers, obtained the confiscation of the vessels of Dantzic, and that of the property of M. de Ruvigny. The duchess d'Harcourt asked and obtained the succession of a man named Foucault, who had committed suicide, &c.

There was much gaming at the court of Louis XIV. The king loved great players. He fed, by his example, this fruitful source of immorality. They cheated in their play. The author of the *Memoirs of the Duke de Grammont* turns into jest the swindling tricks which that duke committed at play. The nobles were not afraid of having domestics whom they knew to be robbers and assassins. The count de Bussi-Rabutin, having been robbed, suspected a gentleman, one of his domestics: he says*, "I suspected very much this gentleman, whose life had been hitherto that of a sharper." The same count speaks of another of his domestics, a soldier of fortune, of whose bravery and friendship he boasts: he adds, "that he was addicted to all sorts of vices; and that robbery and assassination were as familiar to him as eating and drinking."†

These facts, and what has already been related

* Mémoires de Bussi-Rabutin, tom. i. p. 281.

† Ibid. p. 331.

respecting the disorderly conduct of the pages and lackeys, makes plain why Molière, Regnard, &c. have only made roguish valets figure in their comedies, and have even wished to give agreeable colours to their rogueries.

The nobles robbed as well as their valets. During the magnificent *fêtes* celebrated at Versailles at the time of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy, where the princes and courtiers, bending under the weight of their dresses, resplendent with embroidery and jewellery, resembled ambulating shops, pick-pockets, allured by the abundance of gold and jewels put in display, made an immense booty. They had even the audacity to cut off a piece of the robe of the duchess of Burgundy, in order to carry off a clasp of diamonds. The chevalier de Sully caught one of the robbers in the fact; he was *a man of the first quality*. It was judged that he had wished to procure wherewithal to pay for his dress, and the king pardoned him.

Prince Philip died at Paris on the 27th September, 1693, and his death gave occasion to a *trait* of feudal vanity that deserves to be cited. The annotator of the *Memoirs of Dangeau* thus speaks of him: "This prince, a great sharper, and a great debauchee, died very suddenly. They were moralising thereupon in presence of the maréchale de Meilleraye, with great doubts of his salvation." "I assure you," said the maréchale, very seriously, "that, with respect to people of that quality, God thinks twice before damning them." *

The nobles still maltreated the bailiffs who came,

* Nouveaux Mémoires de Dangeau, p. 82.

in virtue of a decree, and in name of the king, to seize their moveables. M. de Maurevel, on the 11th February, 1689, fired pistol shots on the bailiffs who seized the horses of his stable, and killed two of them. The king pardoned him.

The archbishop of Lyons, M. de Villeroi, joined to this ecclesiastical function the temporal and military function of the king's lieutenant in the Lyonnois; and he associated the sword with the cross. He ruled at Lyons with an absolute authority, lived magnificently, and had a hunting equipage: all trembled under him,—the town, the troops, even to the intendant. He was little of an archbishop, and less commandant than king of these provinces. He may be considered, says the annotator of the *Memoirs of Dangeau*, as the last seigneur who existed in France; that is to say, the last who exercised the feudal power in all its plenitude. He died in June, 1693.

There existed another example of feudal omnipotence in the abbé de Vatteville, who exercised in Franche-comté a sort of sovereignty which the king dared not oppose. This abbé, who died on the 4th February, 1709, was a professed carthusian friar, and had fled his convent after having killed his prior. He was circumcised, became a pacha, commanded in the Morea the Turkish army against the Venetians, betrayed the Mahometans, was absolved by the court of Rome, and rendered capable of possessing all benefices. He returned to Franche-comté; connected himself in intrigues with the queen-mother; and favoured with all his might the conquest of that province. He had, from Louis XIV.,

the nomination to the archbishopric of Besançon; but the pope refused the bulls. He lived like a great seigneur; kept a large pack of hounds, a fine stud, a great table, much company; and, above all, without concealing it, was very little strict in his morals, a great tyrant in his house, and kept the intendants in awe: the latter had their eyes shut by order of the court.

It was to the ecclesiastical class that feudalism was most strongly fettered. Louis XIV. obliged the canon counts of the chapter of Saint-Jean-de-Lyon to kneel down when, during the celebration of the mass, the eucharist was elevated. These canon counts, too noble to worship God like other Christians, although maintained in this impious and feudal right by a decree of the council of the 23d August, 1655, renounced it in consequence of the reproaches of the king, and the fear of displeasing him. This king abolished, in 1687, a like custom religiously preserved by the canons of Verdun; they did not kneel during the elevation, and assisted with the head covered at the processions.

The abbé Lorenchet, in 1685, having become enamoured of the wife of a cartwright, employed his valet to hire three men to murder the husband of this woman. The abbé de Pompadour, who died 6th November, 1610, had his breviary said in the antichamber by his domestic, to whom, besides his wages, he gave a particular remuneration.

The princes and princesses did not take the communion with *hosts* given to common Christians; they behoved to have chosen *hosts* (*hosties choisies*).

CHAP. IV.

LOUIS XIV. CONTINUED.

To the picture of the manners of the court succeeds that of the manners of Paris; the latter being, in a great measure, a copy of the former.

La Bruyère has furnished several sketches which characterise the manners of the Parisians of that epoch. He speaks of societies or coteries which had their laws, their customs, their jargon, and their jokes, and the members of which were complete strangers to the other coteries of the capital; of coteries of the great and little robe, the first of which revenges itself on the second for the disdain of the court, and the humiliations which it had to endure from that quarter; of those young people who clubbed together in order to lengthen out an equipage of six horses, which, with a swarm of livery servants, where each had furnished his share, enabled them to triumph on the course, or at Vincennes. They impoverished themselves to appear rich for an instant.

He paints the pride of certain Parisians, their fatuity, their eagerness to imitate the manners, the whims, the foolish expenses of the courtiers.

He describes their ignorance as to certain matters, particularly agriculture.

An engraving published in 1643 presents a view of the western course of the Seine; it has for its ground-work the centre of the Pont Neuf. This engraving, the author of which is Della Bella, gives

an idea of the manners at the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV. The following are the principal scenes of it:—Upon the foot pavement of the bridge, at the bottom of the rue Dauphiné, are seen duellists fighting in open day; some combatants are wounded, and extended upon the earth; others are labouring, with fury, to deprive each other of life; the passengers view these murders with indifference. Farther off, robbers are arrested, who appear to have stolen cloaks. On the platform of the statue of Henry IV. is a charlatan, surrounded by a group of the curious; a great number of elegant women stop the passengers on the foot pavement. Towards the northern part of the bridge are seen people quarrelling and striking one another; others making a display of merchandise, &c. On the foot pavement of the opposite side, at the entrance of the quai des Orfèvres, a charlatan, mounted on a table, is vending his drugs, and young pickpockets are picking the pockets of those who surround them. In the midst of the path are seen to pass guards armed with helmets, cuirasses, and long pikes, which they carry on their shoulders; magnificent coaches, and beggars following them with their hats in their hands. There are seen several persons on horseback, and others on foot, blackguards gaming, others fighting, &c. &c.

A long and detailed letter written under the reign of Louis XIV. by a foreigner, who had lived a long time in this capital, will furnish the principal matter respecting the manners of the Parisians.

"The inhabitants," says he, "are lodged even on the bridges of the river, and on the tops of the houses." He speaks of the *voitures de place* of,

the noise which they make, and of their great number. He says, " they are broken and covered with dirt; the horses which draw them eat as they go; they are meagre and scraggy. The coachmen are so brutal, they have a voice so hoarse and frightful, and the continual cracking of their whip augments the noise in a manner so horrible, that it would seem as if all the furies were let loose to make a hell of Paris."

He speaks of the clanging noise of the numerous bells, which, as Boileau said, to honour the dead, kill the living* :—" Add to this the howlings and the cries of all those who walk the streets to sell herbs, fruit, sand, fish, water, &c. I have never seen so great a number of blind: they go through the whole city without a guide, and walk several together, among an infinity of carts, coaches, and horses, with the same security as if they had eyes in their feet. They do not fail to torment, in all the churches, the faithful, of whom they ask alms, with a copper cup in one hand and a stick in the other.

" The houses here seem built by philosophers rather than by architects, so coarse are they without; but within they are well ornamented. However, they have nothing rare, except the magnificence of the tapestries with which the walls are covered, it not being the custom in France to embellish them with sculptures. The horses take precedence of the

* The remark must still apply, and to London as well as Paris. In this single particular the Turks seem to have the start of us in civilisation. The annoyance arising from this cause to persons to whom the sound of bells is disagreeable, is disgraceful to a civilised community. It is worthy of times when a Catholic priesthood governed ' all below.'

lackeys, it being the custom here to place them on the back of the coach *en croupe*.

"It is no exaggeration to say that all Paris is a large hotel. We see every where cabarets and hosts, taverns and taverniers; the kitchens smoke at all hours, because they eat at all hours; the tables are abundant; they never eat alone; they love to drink little at a time, but often; and they never drink without inviting their guests to drink with them.

"Luxury is here in such an excess, that for him who wished to enrich three hundred desert towns, it would be sufficient to destroy Paris. We see here an infinity of shops where they only sell things of which we have no need; judge of the number of the others, where those which are necessary are sold.

"Although it does not rain, we do not escape often walking in the dirt, as they throw all the impurities into the streets. The vigilance of the magistrates is not sufficient to have them cleansed. However, the ladies no longer go but on mules. Formerly the men could not walk in Paris but in jack-boots. A Spaniard, seeing them in this equipage on the day of his arrival, asked, if all the city was going to travel post.

"The women here are fond of little dogs; and the more ugly they are, the more are they honoured with kisses and caresses. The women have also the privilege of commanding their husbands, and of obeying no person. Some of them write, and produce books; the more sage produce children; the more pious console the afflicted; the more sober eat as many times a day as the Mussulmans pray, it

being the custom of the country to salute the rising sun *le pain à la main.* They all dress with much propriety; they are seen at all hours; they love the conversation of gay persons; they go into the city whenever they please; the doors of their houses are always open to those who have once entered.

"The more noble drag behind them a long train of gold or of silk, with which they sweep the churches and the gardens. They all have the privilege of going masked at all times, of concealing themselves, and of showing themselves when they please; and, with a mask of black velvet, they sometimes go to the churches as to a ball or a play, concealed from God and their husbands.

"The more beautiful command like queens; they treat their husbands as subjects, their lovers as slaves: they do not know what it is to nurse their children.

"The kiss, which in Turkey, in Italy, and in Spain, is the commencement of adultery, is here only a simple civility: they make no visits without mixing kisses with them. Adultery passes for a gallantry, even in the opinion of the husbands, who quietly see love made to their wives.

"The tailors have more trouble to invent than to sew; and when a dress lasts longer than the life of a flower, it appears decrepid. Thence springs a tribe of brokers, who make a profession of buying and selling old rags and worn-out dresses. They live splendidly by robbing all; a convenience sufficiently singular in a very populous city, where those who are tired of wearing long the same dress find means to change it with a moderate loss; and where others, who are in

want of it, have the means of clothing themselves at a small expense.

"Civility is more studied in France than in the kingdom of China; the *bourgeois* mix affectation with it, and the people perform it coarsely. Masters are found who show the ceremonies..... A woman sufficiently handsome offered to sell me compliments, and to give me them cheap.

"Luxury and good cheer would here be two blessings rather than two evils, if they were only the rich who live splendidly; but emulation has made them pass to others, to whom they become ruinous. Thus it appears that Paris is continually approaching its end, if what an ancient said is true: that excessive expense is the evident sign of an expiring city. But now that the lackeys and coachmen begin to wear scarlet and feathers, and that gold and silver are become common even in their dress, there is an appearance that we shall see an end put to excessive luxury, there being nothing which makes gilded dresses so despised by noble persons as seeing them on the persons of the last class of society.

"Every body dresses with much propriety. Ribbons, mirrors, and lace are three things without which the French cannot live. Unbounded luxury has confounded the master with the valet, and the dregs of the people with the most elevated personages. All wear swords.

"The men do not wear a beard, nor their own hair; and they conceal with much care the ravages of years, which gives them a perpetual youth. Since the perruque has been introduced, the long hair of the dead and that of women sells high." He informs

us also, "that the men combed their hair publicly in the streets; that the women carried in their hands a small mirror.

"The Parisians have given themselves the reputation of doing nothing in the evening which they promised in the morning; they say that they alone in the world have the privilege of breaking their word, without being afraid of doing any thing against honesty.

"Bad things here are dearer than good; figs are of this number: they are sold dearer than melons in Spain. Oranges and citrons hold the same rank among the things which sell dear. You do not find good that which costs much.

"Wine is at a moderate price when it is at the gates of the city; but, as soon as it enters, it is changed into drinkable gold.

"If you ever come to Paris, beware of setting your foot within the shops where they sell useless things. As soon as the merchant has given you a description of his merchandise, with several hurried words, he flatters you, and invites you, insensibly and with many reverences, to purchase something; and in the end he speaks so much that he wearies and stuns you. When you enter his shop, he begins by showing every thing that you do not want, afterwards displaying what you ask for; he then speaks and acts so well, that you spend all your money, taking the merchandise which he gives you for more than it is worth. It is by this means that he pays himself for his civility, and for the continual pains which he takes to show uselessly, and a hundred

times a day, his merchandise to the curious, who wish to see every thing without purchasing.

"During Lent, the people run in the morning to the sermon with great devotion, and, after dinner, to the play with the same eagerness. There are here three theatres.....The crowd is found at the theatre where there is most laughing; it is for that reason that the Italian players profit more than the French by the popular simplicity."

The author of this letter then speaks of the Palais de Justice, which, he says, is only frequented by those who defend their property, or who wish to have that of others. He then gives a hideous picture of the attornies, of the advocates, and of the variable jurisprudence of the bar of Paris. He passes to the physicians of this city, exclaims against their ignorance, and says, "What I find unjust is, that the physician who kills and he who cures are paid equally.

"The most dexterous exercise," says he, "is that of certain thieves, who are called *filous:* they rob with so much address, that, if it were not a shame to suffer oneself to be robbed, it would be a pleasure to be so by persons so sharp and skilful.....The pickpockets are always punished by the judges; but it is when they are caught, and do not exercise their profession adroitly."

The bad treatment then experienced by the horses at Paris does not escape the censure of the author of the letter. "These animals there lose," says he, "their natural spirit, and become more gentle than the asses of Arcadia: the French make of them what they please; they beat them; and when they no longer know how to torment them, they reduce them

to the wretched figure of an ape, by cutting their tail and their ears; hence comes the proverb, that *Paris is the paradise of women, the purgatory of men, and the hell of horses.*"

He then speaks with eulogium of the devotion of the people, of the decency of the clergy. "The people," says he, "frequent the churches with piety; the merchants go to pray God that their commerce may prosper. It is only the nobles and the great who go there to amuse themselves, to speak, and to make love; and sometimes we see men who enter in boots.... They do not believe here either in enchantments or in sorceries, and rarely in persons possessed.*

"They sell all sorts of things, except the art of keeping a secret: the French say that this is the profession of a confessor."

He speaks of the interments, and says, that a man who dies is less embarrassed with dying than with paying the physician who kills him, and the curate who buries him.

"Chocolate, tea, and coffee are very much in fashion; but coffee is preferred to the two others, as a remedy which is said to be sovereign against sadness. A lady learned that her husband had been killed in a battle: 'Ah, unhappy that I am!' cried she; 'quick, bring me my coffee;' and she was consoled.

"Living is dear here; the bread is good, white, and well made.

"Although you are in a city so abundant, he who has nothing obtains nothing; that is to say, water

* Our observer was ill informed on this point.

and fire are forbidden to those who have no money, as they were to criminals in the time of the Romans. I do not think that there is in the world a condition more terrible than being poor in Paris, and seeing oneself continually in the midst of every pleasure without the power of tasting any. Amid this great abundance one finds an infinity of wretches, who beg alms in a tone which would make you think that they sing."

The charlatans of the Pont Neuf are not forgotten. "We find there an infinity of persons who give billets; some replace fallen-out teeth, and others make eyes of crystal; one man cures incurable diseases; another pretends to have discovered the concealed virtue of some simples, or of some powdered stones, to whiten and embellish the countenance. This man assures you that he can make old men young again. There are some who efface the wrinkles of the forehead and eyes, who make wooden legs to repair the violence of bombs."

The abbés, and their great number in Paris, astonish our observer. "I have never seen so many abbés, and who wear more willingly the short dress, the little collar, and the blond perruque. In truth, they are the ornament of Paris, and the refuge of afflicted ladies; as they have the spirit of gallantry, their conversation is more agreeable, and more sought after."

The abbé Thiers, that learned and zealous despiser of the superstitions and abuses of the Roman church, has composed a book of near five hundred pages against the perruques of ecclesiastics. He

speaks first of those of the laymen, the use of which commenced in France about the year 1629. At first they only covered one side of the head, afterwards two sides, and at last they enveloped the whole head. "The courtiers, the red-haired, and the scurf-headed," says the author, "first wore them: the courtiers from delicacy, the red-haired from vanity, the scurf-headed from necessity." The number of perruqued heads increased to such a degree, that, in 1659, an edict created two hundred barbers, bath keepers, and perruquiers. It was not till 1660 that ecclesiastics were seen with perruques. "The abbés, or those calling themselves such, the abbés de cour, the abbés damerets, and the abbés à-la-mode, began to wear perruques. They were short, and were called *perruques d'abbé*."

This author enumerates the different species of perruques: the great perruque, also called *perruque in folio;* the little perruques; the perruques à calotte, these are the most ancient; the perruque de Bichon; the perruque à la moutonne; the perruque d'abbé*, &c.

Annæus Rhisenus Vecchius, a Roman doctor, has published another work against the perruques of ecclesiastics, entitled "Clericus Deperrucatus," and dedicated it to pope Benedict XIII. There is an engraving in it, representing the figure standing of a fashionable abbé, which scarcely differs from that of a courtier; then the author contrasts with it the simple costume of a true ecclesiastic.

The author of the letter above quoted speaks of

* Histoire des Perruques, par Jean Baptiste Thiers, Docteur en Theologie, 1690.

what was found, and what was not found, at Paris in the time of Louis XIV. " What is usually found at Paris is a quantity of words given and not kept; favours received, which they make a pleasure of forgetting; some madmen in the streets, and some shut up; but what is rarely seen is modesty and wisdom. It is very rare to find timid and scrupulous persons; but what is never seen, and what is most wished for, is repose, retirement, and a true friend."*

La Bruyère speaks of a Parisian who employed his life in vain occupations: " He goes every day very regularly to the Belle Messe. . . . . He risks every evening five gold pistoles; he reads carefully the Gazette de Hollande and the Mercure Galante; he has read Bergerac, des Marets, les Historiettes de Barbin," &c.

Under Louis XIV. they went very regularly every day to mass; but they talked and laughed there, and attended to every thing rather than prayers: the women appeared in indecent dresses, and there made appointments with their lovers. In 1700, Louis XIV. issued an ordonnance against this disorder, but without effect, as might be expected, as long as the etiquette of the court authorised the exposure of the person. Devout men complained that they did not find, even at church, a shelter against temptation. The curate of St.-Etienne-du-Mont, after having often declaimed in the pulpit against the women who came during mass, and ex-

* Traduction d'une lettre Italienne, datée de Paris le 20 Août, 1692, écrite par un Sicilien à un de ses amis, dans le Saint-Evremoniana, p. 374.

posed their persons in this manner before the eyes of the officiating priest, and seeing his representations useless, one day frankly said to them, " Pourquoi ne pas vous couvrir en notre présence? Sachez que nous sommes de chair et d'os comme les autres hommes." They began to laugh. The preacher, preserving his serious tone, said, " Quand on vous parle en termes couverts, vous faites la sourde oreille: quand on vous parle en termes clairs, vous vous mettez à rire."

The government then consisted in the will of a single man. Louis XIV. interrupted a magistrate who, in a discourse, pronounced these words, " Le roi et l'état," by saying to him haughtily, " L'état, c'est moi." This government, only supported on the existence of an individual, was exposed to all the vicissitudes of the human life; it had its youth, its manhood, and its decrepitude. The youth of this reign was disordered and stormy; its manhood presented triumphs, and a pompous and ascending march; its end, a declining or retrograde pace: all the parts of the administration grew old with Louis XIV.

Under Louis XIII., and under the domination of Mazarin, honest men were scarcely to be found at court; there were found some under Louis XIV. Even in the midst of intrigues, of perfidy, of a base avarice, and of false devotion, virtues and acts of a severe morality shone forth; the stage, and the favour granted to letters, contributed greatly to these prosperous changes.

Molière, Regnard, Despreaux, had poured ridicule on the vices of society, on the pride of the nobility,

on the tricks of the "chevaliers d'industrie," on the sharping tricks of the marquisses. Corneille and Racine elevated the soul, and inspired noble passions. Fénélon enlightened the kings and the people; La Bruyère disconcerted the vices of his time by sketching their hideous portrait.

Some individuals of the *haute noblesse*, deprived of instruction, wished to give themselves the appearance of the knowledge and talents then in fashion. This wish proves that they began to consider the reputation of instructed men not unworthy of them: they solicited the appointments of French academicians.

Bussi-Rabutin marks the change which, in his time, was operated in opinion. After having spoken of the French academy, and said that it counted among its members persons of birth, he adds, "There will be still more of them in future. Hitherto the greater number of fools of quality, *qui ont été en grand nombre*, would have wished to persuade the world, if they had been able, that to have wit was to derogate from their nobility; but the fashion of ignorance at court is passed away for the present."

The increasing light of knowledge caused to be perceived some vices of a government, which had its birth in the darkness of barbarism. For the first time was heard at the court of Louis XIV. a truth which was to produce many others. The duke of Burgundy, instructed by the sage Fénélon, said, "Kings are made for the people, and not the people for kings."

Some works published at this period prove that men were meditating on the vices of the govern-

ment: the *Petit Carême* of Masillon, other writings which contained truths almost revolutionary, and the book entitled "*Les Soupirs de la France esclave, qui aspire après la Liberté*," in which is found the picture of the disorders and misfortunes of the tyranny of Louis XIV., show that this reign ought to share the blame which has been so lavished upon the knowledge of the eighteenth century.

CHAP. V.

LOUIS XIV. CONTINUED.

THE public tranquillity was as much disturbed, and the police as ineffectual, during a great part of the reign of Louis XIV. as they had been under that of Louis XIII. There were the same disturbing elements; the same want of power in the civil administration; the same insolence on the part of vagabonds, of the pages and lackeys of the nobles; the same disposition to impede the course of justice.

In 1644, two lackeys, who had assassinated a poor trader, the father of a family, when he was going out of his house, were condemned to the galleys: they were shut up, and about to undergo their punishment, when, on the 19th February of that year, an *exempt* * presented himself at the prison; and, after having broken the door of it, took out the two assassins, and set them at liberty. Who was the person who thus outraged justice and protected assassinations? It will scarcely be believed: it was the queen, the regent of France, the gallant and devout Anne of Austria, who, seeing that the parliament instituted pursuit against the authors of these prison-breakings, of this carrying off of prisoners, summoned the parliament, and was not ashamed to declare that these outrages against justice were committed by her orders; that she had employed

* A life-guard freed from common duty.

the sieur de Villequier, captain of her guards; that she did not believe those lackeys were so guilty; that the thing was done, and that she should be glad if they would say no more about it.

On the 12th of December, 1644, the king's advocate, Omer Talon, complained to the parliament of the ill-treatment which an usher of the court, named Vacherot, had met with, who, having gone to the house of the provost of the hôtel, in order to deliver a simple writ to the abbé de Surches, brother of the provost, was given up to the menials (*valetaille*), to the pages or lackeys, of this abbé, who shaved him, whipped him, and maltreated him to such a degree that the parliament ordered that he should be visited by surgeons. On the 16th December of the same year, an usher of the parliament, having wished to prevent a lackey from entering the great chamber, and to make him retire, the lackey drew his sword against the usher. This lackey was arrested.

On the 15th April, 1646, the provost of the Isle having arrested le chevalier de Roquelaure, some gentlemen, assisted by several pages and lackeys, and persons having swords and fire-arms, presented themselves for the purpose of taking them out of the hands of the archers of the provost. A combat ensued between the two parties; several archers were wounded, others killed; the civil and criminal lieutenants hastened thither in force, put a stop to the combat, and arrested the chevalier, the object of the quarrel.

In the month of January, 1654, the coaches of the duke d'Epernon and of the sieur de Tilladet

having run against one another, the pages and lackeys of the duke dismounted, and advanced to kill the coachman; the sieur de Tilladet wishing to prevent them from doing so, and to save his domestic, was killed by the duke's lackeys.

Letters patent of the king of 22d January, 1655, very expressly forbid the pages and lackeys from carrying in the city of Paris, either by day or night, any arms, as swords, poniards, pocket pistols, and other fire-arms, on pain of death against the delinquents; and order that the pages and lackeys who shall be found in arms, in Paris and its suburbs, after the publication, shall be taken and punished with death.

The court of the parliament, worn out by the continual complaints which it received respecting the robberies that were committed, day and night, in Paris and its environs, summoned the civil and criminal lieutenant, and other officers of the châtelet, who appeared the 9th of February, 1657. These magistrates, being interrogated as to the causes of the disorders, replied, that it was impossible for them to hinder them, by reason of the low wages of their archers, — wages which were only three sous and a half a day, as in the time of king John, and even these were not all paid. Here then, at last, and for the first time, is discovered one of the causes of the disorders, and the want of security which existed in Paris. Out of respect for routine, and for the regulations of time past, and without regard to the considerable diminution that had taken place since the time of king John in the value of money, the wages of the police were in the seventeenth century on

the same scale as in the fourteenth. This fact proves the stupid indifference of magistrates for what may contribute to the maintenance of public order, furnishes us with the secret of the continual non-performance of the decrees of the parliament, and of the frequent connivance of the police with the robbers. The parliament told the officers of the châtelet that it would provide for it; but it was in no hurry to provide for it, as we shall soon see; and the evil continued.

The tranquillity of Paris, and the security of its inhabitants, were still compromised by the depredations of the soldiers, undisciplined and ill paid. On the 1st of April, 1659, the substitute of the attorney-general complained to the parliament of the disorders which the soldiers of the regiment of guards committed in Paris and its environs: "They pillage, they rob," said he, "openly, at all hours, in the city and in its suburbs, on the roads, and in the surrounding villages: they even sell publicly the furniture stolen. Several private persons, calling themselves *exempts* of the cavalry, protect the said robbers, and are accomplices of their robberies and thefts."

On the 20th June, 1659, two persons named Dorvillier and Dumoulin fought a duel. The latter killed his adversary, and, favoured by the pages and lackeys of the hôtel de Soissons, retired within that hôtel. A commissary of police presented himself there to make a search: he was repulsed and maltreated by these domestics. The substitute of the king's attorney came, in his turn, to the hôtel de Soissons: he met with a like treatment, was violently turned out at the gate, loaded with insults, and had his robe torn.

On the news of these insults committed on the magistracy, the parliament sent a deputation to the king, to represent to him the grievousness of them, and their dangerous consequences. Omer Talon spoke: "If individuals arraigned of crimes," said he, "find an asylum and a secure retreat in the hôtels and the houses of princes, and of those who are established in the first dignities; and if it is not only permitted to favour their escape, but to afford them a retreat, with such security that the officers of justice have not the liberty of exercising their functions, that would go in Paris to favour the impunity of all sorts of crimes, and to establish little independent sovereignties, which, being once withdrawn from the power of the ordinary judges, would not long acknowledge the sovereign and royal power," &c.

This remonstrance had effect on the mind of a king extremely jealous of his authority. He permitted searches in the hôtels, and declared that he would give assistance if it were necessary. The searches were made, in spite of some opposers who regarded them as an injury; and, on the 25th of that month, the parliament prohibited all princes, seigneurs, and others from receiving within their houses those who shall be accused of assassinations, duels, or other crimes; even those against whom there shall be a warrant for imprisonment for civil debt.

René de l'Hospital, marquis de Choisy, on the 3d December, 1656, aided by his pages and lackeys, assassinated, by an ambuscade, the curé of la Chapelle Blanche, in Touraine, in order to give his benefice to one of his partisans; he also assassinated

procureur fiscal *, called Bureau, who was travelling with him. The circumstances of this double assassination are horrible. Louis XIV. pardoned him: an abominable crime remained unpunished, justice was outraged, because the assassin happened to be the son of the mareschal de l'Hospital, who had rendered services to the king,—that is to say, to Mazarin.

The provost of the Isle had succeeded in seizing six robbers, the fruits of whose robberies were received by a man named Picart, living in the rue Geoffroy-l'Asnier, who was arrested; and, as they were conducting him to the prisons of the châtelet, about three hundred watermen carried off the said Picart. The princes and seigneurs, the pages and lackeys, had given examples worthy of being imitated by watermen.

On the 9th of March, 1661, the attorney-general told the parliament that, in contempt of the prohibitions issued to the lackeys against wearing swords or other arms, — prohibitions repeated by several decrees, particularly by a declaration of the king of the month of December, 1660, — the pages and lackeys of different towns of France still carry arms; and those of Paris, who follow their masters to the Course and other public places, begin to carry large cudgels, with which they begin to commit several acts of insolence. The court of the parliament prohibited anew the pages and lackeys from carrying any sword or other arms, or any

* An attorney who prosecutes, within his jurisdiction, all causes wherein the lord paramount or the public is concerned. In Scotland they have a similar functionary with a similar name, *procurator fiscal*.

offensive sticks, on pain of exemplary punishment, &c.

On the 17th of the same month, new complaints against the lackeys who follow their masters to the palace: they penetrate even to the doors of the chambers, and there, armed with cudgels or sticks, insult the passengers, commit different acts of violence, play at dice, and blaspheme the name of God. The court of the parliament commands them not to commit any insolence, not to make any noise, &c. under pain of the whip.

All the measures taken by the king and by the parliament, for near two centuries, against the insolences of the pages and lackeys, against those who arrested the course of justice, against the robbers and assassins with which Paris was filled, became ineffectual. For near two centuries the inefficacy of the remedy had been perceived, an inefficacy which exposed the magistracy to contempt; no one thought of proposing a new one, so blinded were they by respect for ancient institutions and old habits. The disorders continued.

On the 2d of August, 1663, two criminals, conducted to Paris, were taken out of the hands of justice by a mob formed on the pont St. Michel. One of them took refuge in the convent of the Greyfriars; and when a commissary came to reclaim him, the monks rebelled against him, and maintained that their convent was an asylum which all officers of justice were prohibited from entering.*

* There are some monkish establishments with similar privileges existing at this day; *for example*, King's College, Cambridge, which is sacred from the intrusion even of the university officers.

The following day, the hall of the palace was the scene of a combat between the clerks and the lackeys. There were several wounded on both sides.

In 1663, the pages of Charles de Ferrière, marquis de Sauvebeuf, assassinated the sieur de Lierville in the gallery of the palace. This Sauvebeuf, whose name is horribly famous in the pageantries of the feudalism of this period, demanded, on the 7th September of this year, that his pages, assassins, should be tried in the great chamber, in consequence of their *quality of gentlemen.*

The litigant nobles usually presented themselves at the palace (of justice), accompanied by a numerous armed suite, and committed acts of violence in the great hall, to the very doors of the chamber. This practice occasioned the murder committed by the pages of the sieur Sauvebeuf.

The parliament prohibited all persons from coming to the palace with swords and other arms, under a penalty of three hundred livres; but this decree, like so many others, was unexecuted.

On the 27th November following, some litigants fought in the apartment of the ushers, and continued their combat even into the great chamber. The president fled, terrified, and condemned to a fine the ushers who were not at their post.

In order to give a complete idea of the state of Paris at this period, it is proper to speak of other disturbers, who may be divided into two classes: the first consisting of sturdy paupers or beggars (*pauvres valides*), mendicants by profession; the second of vagabonds, persons who can give no account of themselves (*gens sans aveu*), pickpockets, several of whom demanded alms with a

sword by their side, and often with their hand on the hilt. These men, assassins by profession, robbers by day and night, usually composed the seditious tumults or riots, instigated and paid by intriguers of rank. We see them from time to time figure in great numbers in the riots, and every day in the places where a number of people are collected, in the markets, the theatres, and the churches.

The first class, that of professional mendicants, often furnished the second with spies and auxiliaries. Moreover, these mendicants abused the public credulity, and, in order to excite pity and procure arms, employed the most strange deceptions. After having played their part during the day, they retired at night into their haunts, which were numerous in Paris, and usually received the name of Cours des Miracles. There the blind recovered their sight, the lame walked, the dumb spoke, the maimed recovered the use of their limbs, &c.; each returned into his natural state. The most famous of these courts, and which still bears the name of Cour des Miracles, has its entrance in the rue Neuve-Saint-Sauveur, and is situated between the cul-de-sac de l'Etoile and the rues de Damiette and des Forges. The following is the description given of it by Sauval, who visited these places:—

"It is a place of very considerable size, and forms a very large cul-de-sac, stinking, filthy, irregular, and not paved. Formerly it bordered on the very extremities of Paris. At present (under the reign of Louis XIV.) it is situated in one of the most ill-built, dirtiest, and most remote quarters

of the town, between the rue Montorgueil, the convent des Filles-Dieu, and the rue Neuve-Saint-Sauveur, as it were in another world. In order to come to it, it is necessary often to wander in small wretched winding streets; in order to enter it, it is necessary to descend a somewhat long declivity, crooked, rough, and uneven. I there saw a house of mud, half buried in the earth, tottering with age and rottenness, not twenty-four feet square, and in which nevertheless lodge more than fifty families, supplied with an infinite number of small children,—legitimate, natural, or stolen. I have been assured that in this small lodging, and in the others, dwelt more than five hundred large families, heaped one upon the other. Large as this court is, it was formerly much more so. On all sides it was surrounded with lodgings, low, sunk, obscure, ill-formed, composed of earth and mud, and all filled with dishonest paupers."

Sauval then speaks of the manners of those who inhabited this court. After having said that neither the commissaries of police nor the bailiffs could penetrate it without being insulted and beaten, he adds, "There they lived upon depredations; there they fattened in laziness, in gluttony, and in all sorts of vices and crimes; there, without any care for the future, each enjoyed at his ease the present, and ate at night with pleasure what with much trouble, and often with many blows, he had earned during the whole day,—for there they called *to earn* what elsewhere was called *to steal;* and it was one of the fundamental laws of the Court of Miracles to keep nothing for the morrow. Every

one there lived in great licentiousness; no one there had either faith or law; neither baptism, nor marriage, nor sacrament, was known there. It is true that, in appearance, they seemed to acknowledge a God; and, with that view, at the extremity of their court they had placed, in a large niche, an image of God the Father, which they had stolen from some church, and where every day they came to address some prayers."*

These societies of thieves had some laws, and the chiefs a peculiar language called *argot*, — a language which still exists among the inhabitants of Bicêtre. The supreme chief bore, like the chief of the Bohemians, the title of Coësre. The inferior grades of the Argotic kingdom were those of the *Cagoux* and *archi-suppôts de l'Argot*, of the *Orphelins*, of the *Mercandiers*, of the *Rifodés*, of the *Malingreux* and *Capons*, of the *Piètres*, of the *Polissons*, of the *Franc-Mitoux*, of the *Callots*, of the *Sabouleux*, of the *Hubains*, of the *Coquillarts*, and of the *Courtaux de Boutange*.

The *Cagoux* or archi-suppôts, principal officers, represented governors of provinces: they taught the new-admitted the composition of an unguent to procure themselves factitious sores; they taught the argot language, a thousand dexterous tricks, the art of robbing, of cutting purses with address, and of imposing on the people. It appears that certain monks, wishing to raise the credit of their relics, made use of them to operate pretended miracles. "It is certain," says Sauval, "that these dishonest paupers (*mauvais paurres*) contributed to the main-

* Histoire et Antiquités de Paris, tom. i. p. 570. et suiv.

tenance of several monks. These principal grades were generally composed of scholars and debauched priests, who, in consideration of their trouble, were the only persons exempt from all contributions towards the chief, the great Coësre.

They begged in the departments which the *Coësre* assigned to them; counterfeited ruined or robbed persons of quality and maimed soldiers. They were also named *narquois*, or *gens de la petite flambe*, or *de la courte épée*, by reason of the scissors which they carried to cut purses.

The *Orphelins* were young lads who, in troops of three or four, traversed the streets of Paris, shivering and almost naked.

The *Mercandiers*, says Sauval, were those great villains who usually went through the streets two and two, dressed in a good doublet, with shabby breeches, crying that they were good merchants ruined by the wars, by fire, or similar accidents.

The *Rifoders*, accompanied by their pretended wives and children, begged in Paris, holding in their hand a certificate which attested that the fire of heaven had consumed their house and all their goods.

The *Malingreux:* they who pretended illness, were thus called. Some counterfeited dropsical persons. Sauval relates by what disgusting means this pretended malady was procured, and again readily removed. Others had an arm, a leg, a thigh, covered with factitious ulcers: they asked alms in the churches to go on a pilgrimage.

The *Capons* were pickpockets who begged in the cabarets, or young persons who gambled on the

Pont Neuf, and pretended to lose their money, in order to engage the passengers to play with them and risk theirs.

The *Piétres* walked with crutches, and counterfeited the lame.

The *Polissons* went by fours, dressed in a doublet, without a shirt, and a hat without a crown, with a wallet over their shoulders and a bottle by their side.

The *Franc-Mitoux*, having their face bound with a dirty handkerchief, counterfeited illness; succeeded, by means of strong ligatures, in stopping the motions of the artery of the arm; fainted in the middle of the streets, and deceived charitable persons, even the physicians who came to their assistance.

The *Callots* pretended to be cured of the scurvy, and to have come from Sainte-Reine, where they had been miraculously delivered from this evil.

The *Hubains* carried a certificate which attested that, being bitten by a mad dog, they had addressed themselves to St. Hubert, who had cured them.

The *Sabouleux* feigned an attack of epilepsy, fell on the ground, and a piece of soap which they had in their mouth enabled them to imitate the foam which epileptical persons throw out.

The *Coquillarts* were pilgrims covered with shells, returned, they said, from St. Jacques or St. Michel.

The *Courtaux de Boutange* robbed and swindled only in the winter.

Such was this association of pickpockets and sturdy beggars, who, for several centuries, swallowed up the substance of Paris, disturbed its inhabitants,

and whom the magistrates of that city had not even attempted to break up. This immoral and dangerous association, instead of exciting the solicitude and indignation of the court of Louis XIV., became an object of pleasantry to it. The spectacle of one of these mendicants, who, while exciting pity, takes alms at the same time that he cuts the purse of the person who gives them to him, appeared so comic, that, in 1653, "it served," says Sauval, "as a pastime to the king, and an introduction to the royal ballet of the night; a ballet divided into four parts, and danced on the stage of the Petit-Bourbon. Never," adds this writer, "were the sudden metamorphoses of these impostors more happily represented. Benserade prepared us for them by some elegant verses; the best dancers of the kingdom represented the concierge, and the tenants of the Cour de Miracle, by a serenade, and by postures so ridiculous, that all the spectators confessed that in the ballet there was nothing more facetious."*

These infamies, the representation of which made the king and his courtiers laugh, by no means amused the Parisians, and became a continual outrage on morality, and an attack on property. Thus the complaints against these mendicants, though ineffectual, were very frequent.

The number of these vagabonds having very much increased, and amounting, according to some exaggerators, to 40,000, thoughts were seriously entertained, in 1656, of founding a general hospital where all these mendicants should be shut up.

Those who were called *bons pauvres* went thither

* Histoire et Antiquités de la Ville de Paris, tom. i. p. 512.

without difficulty; the police carried several others thither by force; and the robbers and pickpockets left Paris, but they left behind them numerous pupils, and they were not long themselves in returning.

We find in the registers of the parliament, on the 9th of December, 1692, six years after the establishment of the General Hospital, a requisition of the attorney-general of that court, in which he shows "the disorders, the assassinations, and the robberies, which are committed, as well by day as by night, in that town and the suburbs; the great number of vagabonds and persons, commonly called *filous;* as also certain maimed beggars (who under that pretext believe that they ought to be tolerated), who are concerned in almost all the robberies which take place, and serve as spies to the robbers: for that reason they are punishable as much as the robbers themselves. Although there are several hospitals where the beggars are fed and kept, nevertheless there does not fail to be a great number throughout the city and suburbs."

After this requisition, the parliament ordered "that all soldiers who are not under the charge of a captain, all vagabonds wearing swords, all mendicants not natives of this city, shall retire to the places of their birth, on pain of the whip and the *fleur-de-lis* against the able-bodied; of the galleys, against the maimed; and against the women, of the whip, and being publicly shaved," &c.

It was certainly men of this class who assassinated, in 1661, the sieur de la Fautrières, councillor in the parliament; and who, in 1663, carried off in Paris men, women, and children, kept them in a

private prison in order to sell them, and send them off, it was said, to America; proceedings which put several inhabitants of Paris on their guard, and induced the parliament to order informations against the kidnappers. These outrages were renewed in the month of January, 1695.

The following account is given in the Journal of the Court of Louis XIV.: — "There were several soldiers, and even gardes du corps, who, in Paris and on the neighbouring roads, took by force persons whom they believed fit to serve, and carried them to houses which they had for that purpose in Paris, where they shut them up, and afterwards sold them, against their will, to officers who were raising recruits. These houses were called "*Fours.*" The king, apprised of these acts of violence, commanded that all these persons should be arrested, and put upon their trial. . . . . He did not wish that any person should be enrolled by force. They pretend that there were twenty-eight of these "*Fours*" in Paris."

The Parisians, occupied with their enemies, remained till 1667 in this painful situation.

Colbert, who, in his administration, had dared to attack the routine, and introduced some innovations, was imitated. For the first time, in 1667, the office of lieutenant-general of police at Paris was created. The king, by an edict of March of that year, suppressed the office of civil lieutenant of the provost of Paris, who united in his person justice and police, and, in his place, created two distinct offices; one of civil lieutenant of the provost of Paris, and the other of lieutenant of the provost of Paris for the police.

This latter office was confided to the sieur de la Reinie. This magistrate established a *surveillance* much more active than formerly: Paris is indebted to him for a regular organisation of *espionage;* and, what is better, it is indebted to him for the lamps (*lanternes*).

Before this magistrate, the streets of Paris during the night were without lights. On certain occasions, when the danger was imminent, or the robberies were frequent, every householder was ordered to place, after nine o'clock at night, in order to be preserved from the attacks of *mauvais garçons*, on the window of the first floor, a lantern furnished with a lighted candle; moreover, every party or individual who during the night traversed the streets of Paris was accustomed to carry a lantern.

One of the first operations of the lieutenant of police, La Reinie, was the fixed establishment of lanterns in the streets of Paris. At first, one was placed at each extremity of a street, and another in the middle. This order was observed, except in the streets of great length. These lanterns were only furnished with candles. A medal was struck on the occasion of this useful establishment; it bore this legend—"*Urbis securitas et nitor.*"

The reflecting lanterns were invented by the abbé Matherot de Preigney and the sieur Bourgeois de Châteaublanc, who by letters patent, registered 28th of December, 1745, obtained the privilege of this enterprise. People were charmed with this improvement; and the sieur de Valois d'Orville composed and published, in 1716, a poem on the new reflectors.

The number of reflectors at present is about five

thousand, composing eleven thousand and fifty points of light. They are served by a hundred and forty-two lighters. The lighting is distinguished into permanent and variable. The permanent lighting is peculiar to the reflectors lighted up from night to morning without interruption. The variable lighting applies to certain reflectors which during the full moon are not lighted, or are only lighted during a part of the night. The sieur de la Reinie was certainly not in place, or had not completed his improvement, when Boileau completed his sixth satire, in which are the following verses:—

" Sitôt que du soir les ombres pacifiques
D'un double cadenas font fermer les boutiques,
Que, retiré chez lui, le paisible marchand
Va revoir ses billets et compter son argent,
Que, dans le Marché-Neuf, tout est calme et tranquille,
Les voleurs, à l'instant, s'emparent de la ville.
Le bois le plus funeste et le moins fréquenté
Est, au prix de Paris, un lieu de sûreté.
Malheur donc à celui qu'une affaire imprévue
Engage un peu trop tard au détour d'une rue!
Bientôt quatre bandits, lui serrant les côtés
La bourse ———"

Le sieur Dassouci, in a request addressed to the lieutenant-general La Reinie, details the benefits for which Paris is indebted to this magistrate. This request is couched in obscure verse; the following is a translation in intelligible prose:—

" Thanks to his talents, to his firmness, every body is now in safety in Paris. The wharf porter, as well as the cloth manufacturer, no longer fears the pickpockets, nor the famous brigand Bras-d'Acier. The police no longer give quarter. No longer is

heard the cry '*au voleur!*' The lackey, formerly so insolent, no longer carries a sword, no longer insults and strikes any person; the number of assassins, of poisoners, of prostitutes, and of blasphemers, diminishes, and the streets are less filthy."

The sieur de la Reinie procured to the Parisians a security till then unknown; the town was lighted during the night, the lackeys and pages disarmed, the court of miracles purified, the malefactors less numerous. However, towards the end of the lieutenancy of this magistrate, whether by his negligence, or by the corruption of his agents, all the disorders of the past returned. The robberies increased.

In 1697 the sieur d'Argenson was named in the place of the sieur de la Reinie. D'Argenson was severe, stern, despotic; and his countenance, which inspired terror, perfectly suited the severity of his office. The people gave him the names of *damné*, of *perruque noir*, of *juge des enfers*. He worked easily and much, and on various difficult occasions he displayed great energy. He organised the police on a plan more vast, and considerably increased the number of spies. Instead of being disturbed by troops of pages, lackeys, vagabonds, and pickpockets, the Parisians were harassed by an army of spies. Directed by interests which were not always those of justice, he served the despotism of Louis XIV. and his ministers, the vengeance of the jesuits, and the honour of powerful families; he saved several noble criminals from the scaffold. His services elevated him, in 1718, to the eminent rank of keeper of the seals.

It was whilst the sieur d'Argenson directed the police, that for the first time pumps were made use of in Paris against fire. The sieur Dumouriez du Periez had constructed pumps after models which he had seen in Germany and Holland, when, in 1705, a fire ravaged the church of the Petit-Saint-Antoine and some neighbouring houses. These machines were employed with success to extinguish it. The king had already, on the 12th of January of that year, established a lottery, the profits of which were destined for the purchase and keeping up of twenty pumps, which were to be distributed in the twenty quarters of Paris. An ordonnance of the 23d of February, 1716, granted an annual fund of six thousand livres for the keeping up of these twenty engines, already in a very bad state; established sixteen others; and appointed thirty-two men, trained to this service, to work them. In 1722, of these thirty-six pumps there only remained thirteen. The king ordered that sixteen others should be established; and that sixty trained men, clothed in a uniform, should perform the service of them. Such was the origin of the useful establishment of the *pompes à incendies*, and of the body of *pompiers*.

CHAP. VI.

LOUIS XIV. CONTINUED.

Civil State of the Protestants.

SINCE the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV. till 1660, the only attention bestowed on the protestants was to bring back within the limits prescribed by the edict of Nantes such of their churches as had departed from it. Seduction, however, had been employed to draw some ministers into catholicism, and to convert children against the will of their protestant parents. These acts were committed secretly, and without legal authority; but, on the 24th of March, 1661, by a decree of the council of state of the king, they obtained the force of law. This decree bore that boys of fourteen and girls of twelve might be converted. These children were drawn into catholicism by caresses and money; they were kept in it by violence. The jesuits displayed much ability in the execution of these means of seduction. The pretended converts might marry without the consent of their father and mother; and a decree of the parliament of Paris, of 1663, decided that, notwithstanding this want of consent, the children could not be disinherited.

The converts who returned to the religion of their forefathers were, in April, 1663, menaced with all the rigour of the ordonnances; and on the 20th of June, 1665, a declaration of the king pronounced against them the penalty of the galleys, to perpe-

tuity; another, of the 13th of March, 1679, condemned them, besides, to the confiscation of all their property.

The rigour of the persecution went on increasing. By converting children, by seduction, they had set them in opposition, placed them in a state of war against their parents. A decree of the council of state, of the 3d of November, 1664, obliged the parents to keep in their houses their converted children; and a new decree, of the 24th of October, 1665, constrained the fathers to furnish these converted children with a pension suitable to their means. The persecution became still more severe. A decree of the council of state, of the 11th of January, 1663, had discharged the new converts from the debts which they had contracted to protestants. At Paris and at Rouen, the chambers of the edict were suppressed, on the 4th of February, 1669. At Paris, they had for a long time designedly omitted to name protestants to the vacant places in the chamber of the edict; and at the time of its suppression there was only a single councillor.

The ministers of the protestant religion had to endure a particular persecution. Those who were converted were loaded with benefits; those who persisted in their religious opinions suffered the most rigorous persecution. On the 15th of September, 1660, they were prohibited from holding any deliberation in their synods, unless a royal judge was present. By a decree of the council of state, they were prohibited from singing psalms elsewhere than in their church, and from bearing the qualification of pastors.

An edict of the king, registered the 5th of May, 1683, prohibits the ministers from receiving catholics to make profession of the protestant religion, under penalty of perpetual banishment.

By the edict of the 22d of October, which revoked that of Nantes, the ministers were ordered to depart from France in fifteen days, under pain of the galleys. At last, a declaration of the king, of the 12th of July, 1686, prohibited all ministers from re-entering France under pain of death; those who should afford them retreat were to be condemned to the galleys for life; and those who, by their information, should procure the capture of a minister in France, were to receive for their reward the sum of five thousand five hundred livres.

On the 4th of March, 1683, was issued an order to all the officers of the household of the king, the queen, the dauphiness, the duke of Orleans, &c. who were protestants, to give up their charge. On the 9th of July, 1685, all printers and booksellers of the protestant religion were prohibited from continuing their profession, on pain of confiscation of all their books, and of three thousand livres fine.

On the 26th of July, 1685, all the courts of justice were prohibited from receiving advocates of the protestant religion. The same day the power of having clerks of that religion was withdrawn from the judges, advocates, and attorneys. On the 5th and 28th of November following, all the protestant advocates had orders to discontinue their functions. The same prohibition was extended to all physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and to the councillors of the parliament of Paris.

On the 9th of December, 1670, protestant schoolmasters were commanded only to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The protestants had established hospitals, in which were received the sick poor of their religion. A decree of the parliament, of the 3d of December, 1665, suppressed these hospitals in Paris and its suburbs, and confiscated their moveables to the profit of the Hôtel-Dieu. On the 4th of September, 1684, individuals of Paris, and of other towns in the kingdom, were prohibited from receiving the protestant sick poor.

The protestants had, in all the places where their worship was authorised, and even in the towns where they resided, one or more cemeteries. An ordonnance of the month of March, 1663, prohibited them from interring their dead, except at the beginning and the end of the day. They had in Paris three cemeteries; under Louis XIV. they still preserved that of the faubourg Saint Germain. On several occasions, movements had been excited against this place of repose, this spot—

> "Where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest;"

to which, in the eyes even of the most barbarous or most degraded of mankind, some degree of sanctity is attached. In the night of the 20th of August, 1671, a mob of persons, of the lowest class of the people, doubtless paid for that purpose, repaired thither, and smeared the gate of it with pitch, in order to burn it; the fire had already caught, when the watch, having been roused, appeared, and put the incendiaries to flight. This

cemetery, existed till the 22d of October, 1685, the epoch of the suppression of the protestant worship at Paris and in France.

Eight days after the attempt made against the cemetery of the protestants, men of the same description, doubtless excited by the same chiefs, went, during the night, to the church of the protestants situated at Charenton. They set fire to two shops adjoining, and threw pieces of burning wood through the windows of the edifice, which would infallibly have destroyed it, if the incendiaries had not been repulsed.

The parliament ordered informations against the authors of these two incendiary attempts; but the parliament, as we have seen, always ordered, without being able to have its orders obeyed.

The means employed to effect the conversions received, from the year 1676, a new force; the jubilee of this year was the occasion of it. Louis XIV. had at that time a fit of devotion, which he shared with his mistress, the marchioness de Montespan. The lovers separated for some days, performed several religious acts, and seemed to abjure the scandal of their conduct; but, after the jubilee, they again saw one another, and the scandal continued. In order to yield to this movement of devotion, or rather to expiate his relapse, the king, who had already sacrificed considerable sums to the conversion of the protestants, then consecrated to this work the third of the *économats*. Pelisson, a celebrated convert, had the administration of this coffer: he made regulations to organise this new branch of corruption. "The bishops," says a mo-

dern writer, "after having received the funds which he transmitted to them, sent him back, in return, lists, with the price of these conversions in the margin. The current price of these conversions in the remote provinces was six livres a head; there were some lower. The highest which I have found is forty-two livres for a numerous family. Clerks then examined if each discharge was accompanied with an abjuration in form..... They entertained themselves at court with the miracles worked by Pelisson. The devotees themselves jested on this gilded eloquence, 'less learned,' they said, than 'that of Bossuet, but far more persuasive.' From year to year the funds destined for this religious corruption were augmented."

When good men blamed these iniquities, they were answered by this blasphemous saying, — "God makes use of all means!" It would have been more correct to say, "The Jesuits make use of all means!".*

The king had fixed at fourteen the age of boys, and at twelve that of girls, who might be seduced by a few crowns, and thus withdrawn from the obedience of their parents: these were what they called converts. He issued another declaration, of the 8th of July, 1681, setting forth that children of both sexes, aged only seven years, should be submitted to this strange conversion. This rigour was farther aggravated by a new declaration of the king, of the 12th of January, 1685, which ordered that the children of protestants, from the age of five

* Eclaircissemens Historiques sur les Causes de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, tom. i. c. 7. p. 144.

years to that of sixteen, should be removed from their parents, and placed in the hands of their catholic relations, if they have any; and if they have none, that they should be placed with catholics designated by the judges, and that their parents should be obliged to pay them a pension.

The protestants of Paris, in order to avoid the frequent attacks to which they were exposed in going to their church of Charenton, had adopted the resolution of going thither and returning from the same in boats. In going and coming they sang the psalms of David. An ordonnance of the 29th of May, 1681, setting forth that the singing of psalms caused a great scandal to the catholics, deprived them of this consolation.

On the 22d of October, 1685, the edict of the revocation of the edict of Nantes was registered; and, by one of the articles, the demolition of all the temples still subsisting was ordered. On the evening of that day a numerous crowd, composed of persons of the class easily excited to outrages by a little money, repaired to Charenton, and there commenced the demolition of the church of the Parisian protestants. This superb edifice, built in 1623, after the design of the celebrated architect Jacques Desbrosses, presented, in the space of five days, only a mass of ruins. The buiklings of the library, the printing-office, the dwelling of the clergyman, and others, contained within the inclosure of the church, shared the fate of the principal edifice; all the materials were given to the Hôtel Dieu of Paris.

Woe to the protestants who, not having been

able to avoid the snare laid for their infancy or their misery, had yielded for a moment to the seductions of the converters! they were for their whole life condemned to restrain the movements of their conscience, and to appear catholics in spite of themselves; and if they wished, even at their death, to manifest any return towards the religion of their fathers, they were declared relapsed: this pretended crime drew upon them and their family fearful punishments. A declaration of the king, registered in the parliament the 24th of May, 1686, bears — "We order, and it is our pleasure, that if any of our subjects, of either sex, who shall have made adjuration of the pretended reformed religion, falling sick, refuse to receive the sacraments of the church from the curates, vicars, and other priests, and declare that they wish to persist in the pretended reformed religion; in case that the said sick recover their health, they shall be tried by our judges, and condemned, the men *à faire amende honorable*, and to the galleys for life, with confiscation of property; and the women, *à faire amende honorable*, and to be shut up, with confiscation of their property; and, as regards the sick who shall die in that unhappy disposition, we order that their carcases, or their memories, shall be tried, and that they shall be dragged upon a hurdle, and thrown into the common sewer, and their goods confiscated . . . . . *for such is our pleasure.*"

With the exception of burning them by a slow fire, as had been done during thirty-seven years by Francis I. and Henry II.; of betraying and

massacring them, after the example of Charles IX.; of condemning them to the gallows, after that of Henry III.; it was impossible to find upon the earth, subjects more cruelly oppressed than the protestants were by Louis XIV. and his jesuits. Flight was the only alternative they had; and to this many of them had recourse, abandoned a hostile government, and found protection and friendship with foreign powers. A hundred thousand men, the richest and the most prudent, did not wait for the last excesses of persecution; they quitted France with a great part of their fortune: but this was a small number of the whole. The government then, fearing the progress of these examples, hastened to throw obstacles in their way.

Those who fled were stopped on the roads. Emigration became very perilous, in 1685 and the following years. The marquis de Bordage fled with all his family: he was on the point of leaving France; the guards fired upon his carriage; his wife was wounded with a gun-shot; and both were carried prisoners to different citadels.

The duke de la Force, refusing to be converted, was arrested and shut up in the prison of Saint Magloire at Paris. Other men of the court yielded to corruption, and pretended to be converted. On the 26th of October, 1685, the duke de Richemont abjured the religion of his fathers; and, a short time after, he re-entered under the law of protestantism. The king purchased, the 8th of January, 1686, the conversion of the marquis de Belsunse and of the lady Lance-Rambouillet, for two thousand francs of rent. He paid dearer for that of Vivans,

formerly brigadier of cavalry, who received a pension of two thousand crowns.

The government, in 1686, having exhausted against the protestants all the means of vexation, stopped short, appeared to be astonished at the long series of acts of injustice with which it had overwhelmed them, and began to foresee, or even to feel, the fatal consequences; it dared not accuse itself by repairing its faults, but it diminished the grievousness of them by mitigations and by a tacit toleration.

France, deprived of a great number of industrious inhabitants, soon saw her commerce and her industry ruined; and supported with little success a war waged against Louis XIV., the persecutor of protestantism, by the league of princes who professed that religion. If we seek for the source of so much injustice and so many misfortunes, it will be found in the ignorance of Louis XIV., worked upon by the jesuits, and particularly by the jesuit La Chaise, his confessor.

Population of Paris.

The importance of the exact keeping of the registers of births, marriages, and deaths, at last began to be felt. It was not till towards the latter years of the reign of Louis XIV. that it was possible to obtain even approximations towards estimating the population of Paris.

From the year 1709 to 1718 inclusive, comprising therein the births and deaths of the Hôtel Dieu, there were calculated at Paris 169,888 births,

41,186 marriages, 173,933 deaths; which gives at an average, for these ten years, for the births 16,988, for the marriages 4,118, for the deaths 17,393.

It ought to be remarked that, during the severe season of 1709, 29,288 persons perished at Paris.

By multiplying the annual number of births, 16,988, by the number 28, we shall have, for the seven last years of the reign of Louis XIV. and the three first of the regency, a population of 475,664. If, as Messance has done, we adopt the multiplier 30, we shall have for a result 509,640 inhabitants. If we take the mean between these two multipliers, we shall have 492,652 inhabitants.

CHAP. VII.

THE GREAT DAUPHIN, ONLY SON OF LOUIS XIV.

THIS prince was born at Fontainbleau, on the 1st of November, 1661; of several legitimate children whom Louis XIV. had, he was the only one who lived. The duke de Montansier was his governor, and the celebrated Bossuet his preceptor. Without doubt, two men of such merit were well fitted to form a great prince: but, apparently, the dauphin was not born to be one; for, notwithstanding all the care which they took of his education, he was never able to get beyond mediocrity. Such is the idea conveyed of him by the princess Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, his aunt, the wife of monsieur, only brother of Louis XIV.

The abbé de St. Pierre* thus speaks of him:— "The dauphin meddled with nothing: he was good, indulgent, patient, very respectful towards the king, a great hunter, with little intelligence, and little application for business, mild, equable, a man of habit, not capricious, a lover of good cheer, speaking little, incapable of hard drinking, without any ambition; he had all the good and all the bad of indolence." "He was naturally gay," says madame; "but his indolence was so great, that it prevented him even from giving himself up to his gaiety: he would

* Annal. Polit. tom. ii.

have preferred his dear indolence to all the kingdoms of the world; it made him neglect almost every thing."

In regard to features, the dauphin greatly resembled his father, who married him, at the age of nineteen, to a daughter of the elector duke of Bavaria (7th March, 1681).

The second tirewoman (dame d'Atour), madame de Maintenon, and Bossuet, first almoner of the dauphin, went to receive her at Schelestat: the princess could not behold them both without conceiving a high idea of the wit of the court of France. She had a great deal herself; loved the arts, and was acquainted with them, without being tempted to protect them. The king saying to her one day, "You did not tell me, madame, that the duchess of Tuscany, your sister, was extremely beautiful." "Can I remember," replied the dauphiness, "that my sister has all the beauty of the family, when I have all the good fortune?"

The dauphin lived very well with his wife the first three years of his marriage; but they succeeded in putting them on bad terms with one another by means of the marchioness de Montchevreuil. They told the dauphin that his wife did not love him; that she took him for a fool; that she had lovers; and that, to avenge himself, he ought to take mistresses. At first he carried all these stories to the dauphiness; but they returned so often to the charge, or showed him so often handsome maids of honour, that at last he successively became enamoured of several of them. As soon as his amours commenced, all regard for his wife ceased.

In the month of January, 1685, a femme-de-chambre of madame the dauphiness was dismissed because she was *enceinte* by monseigneur. He was very much mortified by the disgrace of his amours, and very little sensible to the reproaches and the tears of the dauphiness. The king reprimanded him on this subject in the severest manner; but monseigneur sought on all hands 2000 pistoles for the femme-de-chambre, and the only thing that appeared to affect him was his not being able to procure them.

La Bessola, femme-de-chambre of madame the dauphiness, exercised so great a sway over the mind of that princess, that monseigneur was jealous of it. The dauphiness, on her part, was jealous of the countess du Roure, who as yet was only ogled. All this sowed dissension in the family of Louis XIV. Monseigneur was greatly annoyed by the complaints of the dauphiness, who passed days shut up in her cabinet, inaccessible to every body, affecting to speak German before her husband, who, shocked at the proceeding, said to her one day, "Madame, when people are dissatisfied with me, I wish them to shut their eyes, and to be silent, or only to complain to God and me."

The king had cooled much towards this princess, who was accused of preferring the interests of the duke of Bavaria, her brother, to those of France. The king did not give credit to all that had been said to him on this subject; but the dauphiness appeared to him at least guilty of having given ground to the calumny, by not sacrificing decidedly enough the good of the country where she was born

to that of the country where she was to reign. The preference which madame de Maintenon obtained over her, and, we may add, over all the princesses of the court, added to the pain of the dauphiness by exciting her jealousy. Her health suffered from all these attacks; and she became of a very gloomy and unsociable humour. Overwhelmed with vapours, she languished and prepared for death, when a courier came to inform madame de Maintenon, who was at Saint Cyr, that madame the dauphiness wished to see her in private, and to die in her arms. She departed upon the spot, and remained several hours shut up with the princess; but nothing of this conversation transpired. Madame the dauphiness, when expiring, embraced the duke de Berry, to whom she had just given birth, and said to him, "*C'est de bon cœur, mon cher Berry, quoique tu me coûtes bien cher.*" She was not mourned so much as decency required. She died on the 20th April, 1690.

In a fragment of a letter of 10th November, 1716, madame says, "M. le dauphin has never loved any person well but his wife:" and in another fragment, of date 8th February, 1707, she says, "The death of his mother and the death of his wife have not afflicted for an instant M. le dauphin; he laughed on putting on his large black mantle." Is that the proceeding of a man who really loved his wife? Moreover, madame cannot have been ignorant of the violent passion of monseigneur for mademoiselle Choin, since she herself speaks of it, in a fragment of the 6th August, 1720.

The duke de Saint-Simon, in his memoirs, and after him the author of those of madame de Main-

tenon, have entered into great details respecting this passion, which bordered on the secret marriage of monseigneur with mademoiselle Choin, maid of honour of madame the princess de Conti; whom, they say, he chose on account of her ugliness, and out of spite against beauty, which in some instances had carried off from him his mistresses. She was of a huge size, an excessive embonpoint, a very brown complexion, a singular walk; but she had very fine eyes, a beautiful hand, nobleness of soul, gentleness, infinite charms of conversation. Her marriage with monseigneur was solemnised, according to some, at Meudon, according to others, at Lyons. It is said that, under the influence of mademoiselle Choin, the dauphin became even scrupulously beneficent, frugal, and devout. The king blessed heaven for this unhoped-for change, attributed it to mademoiselle Choin, and could not believe the *liaison* of his son with her either criminal or legitimate. After the two spouses had disposed him to tolerate their union, they avowed to him without shame what they could no longer conceal from him without danger. However, monseigneur dared not place in the king an entire confidence, for he feared his father very much; he preferred asking his consent to an affair which, he said, was not yet completed, to asking his pardon for having concluded it without his consent. "My son," said the king to him, "think well of it, and speak to me no more of it:" words expressive of indulgence and of prudence, which did not hinder him from dissolving this marriage, if the good of the kingdom or the honour of the royal family demanded it, and

which, without compromising his authority, permitted monseigneur to conclude this marriage, while they deprived him of all hope of making it public. Monseigneur, on the point of going to command the army of Flanders, — whither, however, he did not go, — made a will, and in this will left a considerable legacy to mademoiselle Choin: he told her of it, and showed her a sealed letter which made mention of it. She was very sensible to this mark of a very affectionate foresight; but she enjoyed no repose till she had made him throw in the fire both the letter and the will. She protested that, if she had the misfortune to survive him, a thousand crowns a year which she had amassed would be more than enough for her. This lady fulfilled on all occasions towards monseigneur the part which became her.

From this moment the union of Louis XIV. and the great dauphin, his son, became every day more close. The king was constantly giving him more marked proofs of his esteem and friendship. He wished that the orders of M. the dauphin should be honoured at the royal treasury like his own. After he had granted this benefit, he said to madame de Maintenon, "You will confess to me, madame, that I can make sufficiently handsome presents." "And you, sire," she replied, "you will confess that monseigneur does not abuse them:" — which was true; the prodigal humour of the dauphin was repressed by mademoiselle Choin, who attained the glory of a perfect woman, if it is true that that consists in being forgotten and almost unknown.

It is pretended that the king wished to make

public his marriage with madame de Maintenon. Fénélon, archbishop of Cambrai, having been consulted, together with Bossuet, M. de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, and the father La Chaise, was one of those who raised his voice with most violence against the project of the king. The dauphin testified his gratitude for it to the preceptor of his son, and loaded him with kindness; but this prince was so indignant against the archbishop of Paris and the bishop of Meaux, who had supported the opposite side to Fénélon, that he treated them as insolent priests, whom he would have thrown out of the windows, if he were not restrained by his respect for the king and for their cloth.

During the time that monseigneur gave himself up to his passions, he attached himself to the countess du Roure, whom the king disliked very much. He ordered his son to cease to see her; the latter disobeyed: the countess was exiled from Paris: monseigneur went to see her as secretly as a prince could do whose steps were all watched: the king threatened to put his mistress out of his reach: — "Sire," he replied, "if your majesty send her to the end of the world, I will set off to-morrow to go to live with her." The king, little accustomed to such cutting replies, answered by the exile of madame du Roure to Montpellier.

The king had early admitted the dauphin to all his councils. At the taking of Philipsbourg, the 29th September, 1688, by the dauphin, he heard with the greatest pleasure this saying of the duke de Grammont: "Your majesty takes wolves like monseigneur, and monseigneur takes towns like your

majesty." On his return from the campaign of 1694, when, after having marched forty leagues in four days, monseigneur, less strong by half than the prince of Orange, maintained the frontiers from the Escaut and the Lys to the ocean, the king went to meet him, and, embracing him, shed tears of joy. Louis had often said to him, to excite his ardour, "But what will become of France after my death?" Neither the confidence of his father, nor his councils, nor the greatness of the affairs that demanded his attention, could rouse him. The dauphin, having retired to Meudon, abandoned himself to the Vendôme party, who were discontented with the court. At a collation given by the dauphin to his natural sister, the princess de Conti, that princess drank the health of the *good old woman, her mother-in-law;* monseigneur, apparently effected by the fumes of wine, drank that of the *good man* (*bon homme*). The king was informed of this indecent pleasantry, and testified to monseigneur his displeasure in consequence.

This prince had by madame du Roure a daughter, educated in a convent in Paris, where she was magnificently maintained. After her death, mademoiselle de Cointaumer, sister of madame du Roure, deliberated how she should provide for the subsistence of the orphan: "Shall we make a femme-de-chambre of her," said she; "or shall we let her remain a princess?" The king was not willing to legitimate her by reason of the uncertainty of the father. The princess de Conti married her, out of pity, to M. Ménager, the same who negotiated a secret treaty with England.

Monseigneur had intrigues of all sorts. He had by La Raisin, an actress celebrated for her talents and her amours, a son who resembled him in every thing, and who would have died in great misery, if Lajouchère, treasurer extraordinary of the war, had not taken him out of it, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

When the king of Spain left Versailles to go to his kingdom, Louis XIV. and his son the dauphin wept bitterly. Before this time the dauphin had never shown any marks of tenderness towards his son: one would not have thought that the young princes were his children; he lived with them as with strangers, never calling any of them my son, but M. le duc de Bourgogne, M. le duc d'Anjou, M. le duc de Berry; and they always called him monseigneur.

"I cannot endure," says madame, the second wife of monsieur, the king's brother, "I cannot endure to be touched *au derrière*. M. the dauphin had a habit of placing his fist on the chair, with the thumb raised, at the moment when one was going to sit down. As this sport displeased me, I told him frankly, that if he did not leave it off, I would not answer for my not giving him a good box on the ear, and that would be done as soon as thought of: from that day he ceased to molest me. He was of the middle size, or rather below it; he had not, by a great deal, the stature of the late king (Louis XIV.); he did not pique himself upon his profound politics; he was, however, always reserved and mysterious, and was angry when his least thoughts were guessed at: as for me, who knew him from his infancy, I

often vexed him by guessing them. The king used to say, "Monseigneur has the air of a German prince."

When the will of Charles II., king of Spain, which called the duke d'Anjou to his throne, was brought to Louis XIV., that prince assembled his council, in order to discuss this great affair. Monseigneur declared himself for the acceptance; and said, that he only aspired at being able to say all his life, "*The king my father; the king my son:*" fine words, if they had not been inspired by indolence as much as by moderation. Although monseigneur had as much respect as love for the king his father, and was submissive to his will, he appeared sometimes to wish to push him to extremities by resisting him. But for madame de Maintenon, they would one day have quarrelled about a mere trifle. Monseigneur wished to give at Meudon a public ball, to which every body was to be admitted without distinction; and, in addition, he wished that the duchess of Burgundy, his daughter-in-law, should be present. The king, with mildness, represented to him that it was not proper, since he wished madame the duchess of Burgundy to be present, that all sorts of men and women should be admitted. Madame the duchess, on her part, saw no indecorum in this mixture, and was as ready to dance with a player as with a prince of the blood. The high sense of etiquette of Louis XIV., perhaps the leading feature in his character, was vastly shocked; and he had considerable trouble in bringing them to hear reason on this point. At last, however, he prevailed; and the ball was such as accorded with his ideas of propriety. (1709.)

The great dauphin was very popular: "It is certain," says madame in her letters, "that the common people, *les femmes de halles*, had a great enthusiasm, *une vraie passion*, for him: they had been made to believe that this prince spoke incessantly in favour of the people; that he was incessantly asking for the diminution of the imposts; that he was continually crying out against the luxury of the courtiers and the avidity of people in place; in short, they attributed to him hundreds of things of which he never thought. Monseigneur did not oppose the will of the king his father: those who say that it was he who showed most repugnance to the declaration of the king's marriage with madame de Maintenon, did not know this prince; he had more deference than any person for this lady. The only man who was the cause of her not being declared queen is M. de Fénélon, archbishop of Cambrai, who had the generous courage to expose to the late king all the consequences that might flow from such a step, and all the reasons which ought to determine him against it. It appears from the memoirs of madame de Maintenon, that the great dauphin was of the opinion of Fénélon, as has been already mentioned.

The first dauphin, and his son the duke of Burgundy, were both of a temper very difficult to define; they never entertained either much love or much hatred. Did you think you had reason to fear them, you met with nothing but kindness from them. Did you calculate on kindness, you met with the contrary. The first dauphin, without making pretensions to a very superior mind, did not want knowledge. No one had a keener sense than he of the ridiculous,

not only in others, but also in himself. But he preferred his dear indolence to every thing else; he loved to pass whole days reclined on a couch, or drawn in a chair, holding in his hand a cane, and striking the end of his shoes, without saying a single word.

The dauphiness had a forest of hair, which none of her women was able to comb well: madame de Maintenon alone disentangled them without exciting painful sensations. "You would not believe," she often said afterwards, "how much this talent of combing a head well has contributed to my elevation."

Mademoiselle de Choin had a pretty little dog, of which she was very fond, and to which the marshal d'Huxelles sent every day roasted rabbits' heads. The day after the death of monseigneur, the sending of the rabbits' heads ceased; and from that time mademoiselle de Choin no longer saw the marshal. When she had recovered herself a little, she took notice of the negligence of the marshal, and complained of him as of a capricious person, on whom she had a right to count, and whom she had very much advanced in the esteem and confidence of monseigneur. The marshal d'Huxelles was informed of this, and treated it with disregard: he replied coldly that he did not know what she meant; that he only knew her slightly; and that he had little connection with monseigneur. The marshal did not like to burden himself with a useless recollection.

"When the dauphin had the small pox," says madame, "I went on Tuesday to find the king; his majesty said to me, laughing, 'Well, madame, you

have menaced us so much with the frightful pain which the dauphin would suffer when the suppuration took place: he does not suffer at all, and his pimples begin already to dry up.' I was terrified, and said to the king, 'So much the worse if he does not suffer; he ought to suffer horribly from the suppuration, and I should be glad to hear that he suffered much—that would be a better prognostic.' The king said to me, 'You then know more about it than all the physicians.' 'I know,' replied I, 'what the small pox is by my own experience, more sure than his; I wish with all my heart that I may be deceived.' The same night, towards midnight, the dauphin died."* (1711.)

* Lettres Origin. de la Princesse Charl. Elisab. de Bavière.

CHAP. VIII.

THE DAUPHIN, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, FATHER OF LOUIS XV.

THE duke de Bourgogne, who became dauphin after the death of his father, was born on the 6th of August, 1681. As soon as he was taken out of the women's hands, the king gave him for governor the duke de Beauvilliers, one of the most virtuous men of the court, and for a preceptor the celebrated abbé de Fénélon, afterwards archbishop of Cambrai. The joy was extreme at the birth of the duke de Bourgogne, every one took the liberty of embracing the future king: the crowd carried him from the *surintendance*, where he was born, to his own apartments. The lower class of the people appeared to have lost their wits. They made *feux de joie* in the courts of the château; they threw into them the wainscot and the inlaid floors destined for the great gallery of Versailles. Bontems in a great rage came to tell the king of it, who laughed, and said, "Let them enjoy themselves; we shall have other floors." The despot knew well that the poor people themselves would be the only sufferers; that their labour had produced the floors, and would have to reproduce them if destroyed. The joy appeared as lively in Paris, and was of longer duration. The shops were shut for three days; all the streets were filled with tables; the passengers were invited to drink without paying;

and some artisans consumed in less than three days a hundred crowns, which they earned with difficulty in a whole year. It was on this occasion that Louis XIV. opened his apartments to the public on certain days of the week. Gaming was there introduced, and refreshments of all kinds were served up. These admissions were interrupted by the death of the queen a year after; and the abuses which had been introduced prevented the practice from being re-established.

The duke de Bourgogne was scarcely seven years old, when the duke de Montausier happening to pass, and seeing him earnestly engaged in the consideration of a genealogical table of the kings of France, approached, and asked him which of all the titles of these kings he should prefer. "That of father of the people," replied he without hesitation. This anecdote has somewhat of an apocryphal appearance.

The first disgraces of the French in Italy, in the war of succession, ought to have served them as a presage of still greater. The time was past when Louis, on leaving Versailles, could say, "I will go to such a place, I will take such a town, and I will return on such a day:" he no longer appeared at the head of his armies, and the star of his prosperous fortune had begun to decline. Prince Eugene had then for a colleague a warrior who was not less valiant nor less experienced than himself. The duke of Marlborough was not less fatal to France, on the side of which he had first distinguished himself, than Eugene, to whom the arrogant Louvois had refused service. The English general, says the French historian of the Bourbons, wished us

much ill without esteeming us; prince Eugene, on the contrary, entertained no less esteem than hatred for the French. "*Tâchez*," wrote he to a general, "*de battre les François, car on ne les défait point.*"

Louis, no longer animating his armies by his presence, wished to direct them from his cabinet. Hence those precise instructions which made the general a mere machine; every moment genius was arrested by an order, and opportunity sacrificed to obedience. He did not owe his former brilliant success to such a system. Formerly he said to an officer departing for the army, "Insinuate to M. de Turenne, that I should be very glad to know sometimes what he intends to do."

Louis XIV. was impenetrable: Chamillard, his minister, told every thing to any body who would listen to him; insomuch that the orders forwarded to the generals sometimes the same day reached Eugene or Marlborough, at first by the public rumour, afterwards by means of confidential and secret correspondents.

One of the great misfortunes, moreover, of this war was, that devotion, in concert with distrust, contributed to the choice of very incapable generals. Catinat, Vauban, Feuquières, Conti, were without a command. La Feuillade, whose whole merit consisted in being the son-in-law of Chamillard; Tessé, who could only fight the huguenots of the Vivarais; Marfin, who had only the courage of a soldier; and Villeroi, who had not the confidence of the troops, held the places of pupils worthy of Turenne and the great Condé.

Intolerance, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, was another cause of the misfortunes which brought France to the brink of ruin. At a time when all the affection of the provinces was wanted, the inhabitants of the southern suffered a severe and unjust persecution. An abbé having carried off a young peasant from her lover, was the cause of arming the Camisards against their oppressors. From similar causes have often flowed similar effects. The carrying off of Helen gave rise to the most renowned war of early antiquity. In the present instance, from a quarrel of love sprang a war of religion. A handful of bandits (for the huguenots detested this rebellion) produced a diversion most fatal to the success of the arms of France, occupied two of her marshals, and would have hastened the moment of her ruin, if England and Savoy had sent the promised succours. A journeyman baker treated on equal terms with Louis XIV.

The huguenots who remained in France were less formidable in the war of succession than those who had left it: thousands of refugees, distributed in the armies of the Dutch and English, had learned from them to beat the French. Several were made prisoners; Chamillard treated them as criminals guilty of high treason: Louis XIV., although persuaded that they were so, would not consent to their being condemned to death.

According to the memoirs of the duke de Saint Simon, the great fault of the young duke de Bourgogne was anger; he sometimes carried it even to a degree of fury. It has been said that it was religion that corrected him of it. But it was religion wearing the

form of the insinuating gentleness of Fénélon, and constantly aided by his assiduous cares, and the innocent or rather salutary artifices which he employed. One day that the young prince stopped to look at the tools of a joiner who was at work in his apartment, the workman, to whom Fénélon had given his cue, told the duke in the most peremptory tone to pass on his way: the prince, little accustomed to such bluntness, fell into a passion; but the workman raising his voice more and more, and pretending to be transported with fury, cried out to him, 'Begone, prince; for, when I am in a rage, I break the arms and legs of all those who come near me." The duke de Bourgogne ran, quite alarmed, to inform his tutor, who was in the adjoining chamber, that the wickedest man in the world had been introduced into his apartment. "He is a very good workman," said Fénélon; "his only fault is giving way to transports of anger." The prince thought that he ought to be sent away as soon as possible, notwithstanding his talent as a workman. "For my part," replied Fénélon, "I consider him far more worthy of pity than of punishment: you call him the most wicked of men, because he threatened those who distracted his attention from his work; what name would you give, then, to a prince who should beat his valet-de-chambre at the very time when he was doing him a service?" The duke felt the lesson, and promised to be for the future more temperate and less impatient.

On another occasion when the duke de Bourgogne had given way to his humour, all his officers and domestics had orders to accost him and ask if he

was ill; they maintained that he was, and he became persuaded of it himself. The physician Fagon was called, felt his pulse, made a show of reflecting on the nature and causes of the malady, and ended by saying, "Confess the truth to me, monseigneur; have you not given way to some transport of passion?" "You have guessed it," cried the duke de Bourgogne; "can that make one ill?" The doctor then went through a long enumeration of the terrible effects of anger, which sometimes went, he said, so far even as sudden death: he ordered him a regimen for some days, and advised him by way of preservative, on the occasion when he perceived the first emotions of anger, to remain quiet, without speaking, without gesticulating, and to turn away his thoughts from the object which had moved him. The advice made an impression on the prince, who had the most sincere desire to correct himself of so great a fault.

He had been often told that it was necessary for a prince to accustom himself to suffer with constancy, and without complaining; above all, that to weep was a mark of weakness, which only suited infancy. He formed the resolution no longer to weep as before. One day while they were reading to him a funeral oration on the dauphiness, his mother, he let himself fall under the table. They thought that he was playing, and lifted him up: the violence which he had put upon himself, in order to stifle his grief, choaked him: he poured forth a torrent of tears, when they told him that such tears as he strove to restrain, so far from having any thing humiliating in them, did him honour.

The confidence of the duke de Bourgogne in the abbé de Fénélon was unbounded; one may judge of it by that avowal, which must have humbled the self. love of the prince: "I am ashamed of my heart," said he one day to his beloved tutor; "it came into my thoughts to learn nothing more, in order that the king might regard you as a bad tutor."

A short time before the treaty of Ryswick, the duke of Savoy signed his own particular peace with Louis XIV., and the contract of marriage of Marie-Adelaide of Savoy, his daughter, born 6th December, 1685, with the duke de Bourgogne. The princess arrived at Montargis, whither the court had gone to wait for her, on the 4th September, 1696. She was only eleven years of age. The king took her in his arms, carried her into a church, and offered her to God, who alone could protect her from the corruption of the court. The princess of Savoy possessed all that was necessary to please: she possessed all the brilliancy, without the regularity, of beauty; the forehead and also the mouth were too large, the face too small for the features; but age proportioned every thing. Large eyes, a haughty look, a lively and Italian physiognomy, a very good nose, the most brilliant colour, an exquisite figure, that majestic air which awes at first sight, and those graces which always charm; add to that a *naïve* wit, the best judge of the good and beautiful: such is the portrait given of what then was, or afterwards became, the princess destined for the duke de Bourgogne. Louis XIV. testified to madame de Maintenon his desire that she would take charge of the education of this young princess;

madame de Maintenon devoted all her care to it. The duchess de Bourgogne was in no mistake as to the condition of that lady. She did not think she hazarded too much in giving her the name of aunt, at first in imitation of mademoiselle d'Aubigné, niece of madame de Maintenon, afterwards from a sentiment of respect and friendship, which the king was the first to inspire; for one day that she was seated in the niche of this lady, "*Otez-vous donc*," said the king to her; "don't you see that you are in madame's place?"

The princess, according to her own taste, was educated at Saint-Cyr. The pleasures of the court, the honours which were rendered her at the château de Versailles, all displeased her; she was not amused, and not happy, but at Saint-Cyr. In the dress of the ladies of Saint Louis, she went to the *économie*, where she learned the detail of the menage; to the dépôt, where she spoke of business; to the noviciate, where she found instruction; to the classes, where she learned to command by obeying. Delighted when they pretended to forget her rank, she undertook all sorts of charges, occupied herself with them, and believed herself necessary; disapproved of the luxury of Versailles; and became that Antiope whom Minerva formed for Telemachus.*

The nuptials of the duke de Bourgogne were celebrated with a royal magnificence. This superb fête was the last that excited and satisfied the crowd of strangers whom it had drawn to the court. The duchess de Bourgogne, wearied by the compliments which were paid her on all sides on her marriage,

replied to a courtier who was very warm in his congratulations, "All this which you tell me is the finest thing in the world; but, happily, one is not married every day." She had the art of painting in a single word, or at least expression, what she meant to describe; she said of the duke and duchess d'Harcourt: "Every time I see them, I think I see Courage married to Virtue." She observed of madame de Montespan, the most caustic wit of the court, "a serpent's tongue in a dove's head." The princess being only twelve, and her husband fifteen, when they were married, they were not allowed to see each other for two years. The marriage was celebrated on the 7th September, 1697.

"It was impossible," says the historian of the Bourbons, "to behold the duke and duchess of Burgundy without feeling interested in their happiness. The duchess was possessed of virtues at the age when they promise much: the duke, born passionate, impatient, avaricious, had become, by the united care of Fénélon and Beauvilliers, the most gentle, the most patient, the most beneficent of men. He took from his pleasures the presents which he made: he was easy of access, and made himself acquainted with every thing: he had, on the subject of the relief of the people, views that were surprising in a prince of seventeen, and, unhappily, in every prince. Notwithstanding the natural aversion of kings for those of their children who have a citizen heart, Louis XIV. adored him. He admitted him, scarcely eighteen years of age, to the council of despatches, and spoke to him of the affairs of his empire with as much confidence as if he was about to abdicate imme-

diately in his favour. The young prince, on his side, instructed himself as if he was soon to govern by himself.

This prince is, perhaps, the only heir apparent or king of his race, after St. Louis, who was able to resist the temptations and the immoral influence which the corruption of courts and of mankind prepares for and exerts upon kings. It succeeded in corrupting and polluting the youth of Louis XV., but it could not corrupt that of his father. So devoted was he to his wife, and so afraid of pleasing any other woman, that one day a lady having said to him that he had beautiful eyes, he immediately set himself to squint, in order that he might not make too much impression on the heart of this lady. In most cases such an incident would stamp the man a coxcomb; but the person of whom we write was very young, the heir apparent of a great kingdom, and in his case it seems to us that a contrary and favourable inference ought to be drawn.

The violence with which this prince set about correcting his faults, the desire which he had to attain perfection, made him run into the extreme, the contrary of his former faults, and often gave him the air of a censor. This alienated from him his father the dauphin, and often provoked the king himself. From many traits of this the following is selected. The court was at Marly, where there was to be a ball on the Epiphany. The duke de Bourgogne declared that he would not even appear at it: the king was piqued at seeing his conduct censured by his grandson. The duchess de Bourgogne, her ladies, and M. de Beauvilliers, who had a great in-

fluence over him, wished to induce him to appear. Their entreaties were ineffectual; the prince refused with obstinacy: he confined himself to saying, that the king was master, that he did not take the liberty to blame any thing that he did; but that the Epiphany was a triple festival, that of Christians in particular, by the vocation of the Gentiles, and by the baptism of our Lord; that he thought he ought not to profane it, by turning aside from the application which he owed to so holy a day for a play, at the most only endurable on an ordinary day. It was in vain to represent to him, that, having given up the morning and the afternoon to the offices of the church, and other hours moreover, to prayer in his cabinet, he might and ought to devote the evening to the respect and complaisance of a subject and a son. He gave way in no point: excepting the time of supper with the king, he was shut up all the night alone in his chamber.

One day a person of the highest rank asked the duke de Bourgogne, "How shall you do, monseigneur, in regard to plays when you shall be master? Shall you forbid the opera, the play, balls, and other amusements of that description? Many people pretend that if there were none of these, there would be greater disorders, particularly in the capital." "I would examine," said he, "all the inconveniences on both sides; I would take to that where I thought I saw the fewest."

The duke de Bourgogne having been named by the king generalissimo of the army of Flanders, on the 15th March, 1702, was accompanied in his first campaign by Gamaches. He was little capable

of advising him; but he could not refrain from replying, even in public, to the puerilities which escaped the prince, and by his example the duke de Berry. Gamaches, returning on one occasion from mass with the duke de Bourgogne, said to him, "You will have the kingdom of the heavens; but, for that of the earth, Eugene and Marlborough know better than you how to take possession of it." Gamaches also publicly reprimanded the two princes on the subject of the ex-king of England. The latter lived under his incognito in the relation of a private individual to the two princes. They usually suffered him to wait in the anti-chamber, and scarcely spoke to him: and this continued during a whole campaign. Towards the end of this campaign Gamaches, pushed to extremities, addressing himself to the two princes before every body, said to them, "Is this a wager? Speak freely: if it is one, there is nothing to be said on the subject; but at least henceforth speak a little to M. le chevalier de Saint George, and treat him with a little more civility." All these sallies, which they permitted in Gamaches because they knew him, ended in nothing; and the two princes did not alter their conduct in that respect. *

The duke de Bourgogne, after making several encampments, passed the Rhine. The marshal de Vauban joined him soon after; and on the 15th of August Brizach was invested. Marsin had appeared on the morning of the same day before Fribourg. The governor, finding himself invested, burned his suburbs; and the governor of Brizach

* Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon, tom. i.

sent him four hundred men from his garrison, and sixty cannoniers: both governors were the dupes of this manœuvre; and Brizach was invested in the evening. The garrison which defended that place was composed of three thousand five hundred men; the defence which they made was not very desperate: they surrendered the place on the 7th of September, 1703. The garrison obtained all the honours of war. The duke de Bourgogne then returned to court: he arrived at Fontainbleau on the 22d of September, 1703.

The duchess de Bourgogne was in public serious, circumspect, respectful towards the king, and preserved a timid decency of deportment towards madame de Maintenon, whom she always called "ma tante:" in private, prattling, skipping around them, sometimes perched on the arm of the fauteuil of one or other of them, sometimes playing on their knees; she leaped on their neck, embraced them, kissed, caressed them, tormented them in all sorts of ways, rummaged their tables, their papers, their letters, broke open the seals, and sometimes read them in spite of them, according as she saw them in a humour to laugh, and sometimes talked of their contents. Admitted to every thing, to the reception of the couriers who brought the most interesting news; entering the king's apartments at all hours, even during the sitting of the council; at once useful and fatal to the ministers, but always inclined to oblige, to serve, to excuse, unless she was violently prejudiced against any one, as she was against Pontchartrain, whom she sometimes called to the king, "votre vilain borgne." She was so free, in short,

that one evening hearing the king and madame de Maintenon speak with affection of the court of England, at the time when they hoped for peace through queen Anne, "My aunt," said she to madame de Maintenon, "it must be admitted that in England the queens govern better than the kings; and do you know the reason, aunt?" and still running about and bantering, "It is because under the kings women govern, and under the queens men." The king and madame de Maintenon laughed, and admitted that she was very right.

One evening that the princess was chatting with madame de Nogaret and du Cladelet, her intimate confidants, and was speaking with wonder of the fortunes of madame de Maintenon and de Choin, she added, laughing, "I should like to die before M. le duc de Bourgogne, but nevertheless to see what passes here: I am sure that he would marry *une sœur grise ou une Taurière.*"

One day that, at Fontainbleau, when all the ladies of the princes were in the same cabinet with her and the king, she had, after supper, gabbled all sorts of languages, and performed a hundred childish tricks to amuse the king, who was pleased with them, she remarked madame the duchess and madame the princess de Conti looking at her, making signs and shrugging their shoulders with an air of contempt. The king having risen and gone, according to his custom, into a back cabinet in order to feed his dogs, and come afterwards to bid the princesses good night; the duchess of Burgundy, then dauphiness, took hold of madame de Saint Simon with one hand and of madame de Lévi with the other,

and showing them madame the duchess and madame the princess de Conti, who were only a few paces from her, "Have you seen, have you seen?" said she to them; "I see as well as they, that in all that I have said and done there is no common sense, and that it is all miserable stuff; but he requires noise, and these things amuse him;" and immediately thereupon, supporting herself upon their arms, she began to vault and to chaunt, "And I laugh at it and at them, and I shall be their queen;" vaulting, making merry, darting forward with all her might. These ladies, in a low voice, begged her to be quiet; saying, that those princesses overheard her, that every one present saw her, and even went so far as to tell her that she was mad. But she leaped still higher, and chaunted still louder, "And I laugh at them, and I shall be their queen." She only ended when the king re-entered. This anecdote goes to prove that a court is not the place to look for true courtesy. In this case it was merely the presence of a superior that could make these inhabitants of a court observe the rules of courtesy towards one another.

The duke of Burgundy was too fond of his wife not to excuse in her all this vivacity, although he had himself become of a character as circumspect as reflective. The duchess, alarmed at a spouse so austere, spared no pains to soften his manners: her charms, with which he was penetrated — the manœuvres and importunities of the young ladies of her suite, disguised under a hundred different forms — the allurements of pleasure and of parties, to which he was by no means insensible, — all were

every day displayed in the interior of the dauphin's apartment.

The young prince (now, by the death of monseigneur, become dauphin, and depositary of the king's authority in the details of the affairs of government,) redoubled his application and ardour for the business of the administration, and studied with a well-sustained zeal all that could render him capable of conducting public affairs. He banished all scientific amusement, in order to divide the portion of his time passed within his cabinet between prayer, which he abridged, and instruction, which he lengthened; and that passed without it, among his assiduity towards the king, his cares for madame de Maintenon, his devotion to his wife, and his attention to hold a court, and to render it accessible and amiable. The more the king elevated him, the more he showed submission to him. He returned the additional consideration and confidence which the king showed him, by wisdom and knowledge; above all, by a moderation far removed from all self-complacency, and the very opposite of presumption. His own secrets, and those of others, were always impenetrable with him.

The dauphin duke of Burgundy had substituted in the place of the play, from which he had for a very long time withdrawn himself, a little game which was within reach of the most moderate purses, in order to be able to vary and divide the honour of playing with him, and render himself visible to every body. He was always sensible to the pleasures of the table and the chase: he permitted himself to go to the latter with less scruple; but he feared his

foible in regard to the other, though he was very good company when he permitted himself to indulge in it.

The king, notwithstanding the devotion and regularity of his old age, soon saw at court, with astonishment, a prince so young as his grandson, censure, without wishing it, his own life by his; deny himself a new bureau in order to give to the poor the money which was destined to purchase it; and modestly thank his majesty for a new suite of hangings with which they wished to ornament his apartments: but when Louis became acquainted with the excellent qualities of his grandson, he testified towards him as much tenderness and confidence as the prince could desire. When he asked of the king permission to accompany his brother, the king of Spain, to the frontiers, Louis XIV. replied with tenderness, "Yes, my son, you will go, and the duke de Berry also; I am delighted that you love each other so tenderly."

The king having named the duke de Bourgogne commander of his armies in Flanders, gave him the duke de Vendôme and the marshal de Berwick for advisers, with power to the prince to decide when the opinions of the two generals should be divided. The duke de Bourgogne was persuaded that Vendôme was a hero. But his presumption, his want of vigilance, his remissness of discipline, put him on his guard against his advice.

The king, fearing that the quarrel excited by the affairs of the church might have fatal consequences, appointed the dauphin duke de Bourgogne to conciliate the two parties. This pious prince was very

glad to be their arbiter, and received all their *mémoires.* He borrowed light from the archbishop of Bourdeaux and from la Chétardie, curate of Saint-Sulpice, who passed for neutrals, though they scarcely were so. The dauphin, after having used all the means of conciliation which he could imagine, without succeeding in giving peace to the church of France, told the king that he must send to Rome this theological war, and that he did not wish to have any thing more to do with it.

His attention was then directed towards objects more important to the public happiness, and at the same time attended with less difficulty in the accomplishment. In reflecting on the faults of government committed by his grandfather, he thought he discovered the source of them in the form of administration which he had adopted. He felt that all the misfortunes of the war arose from the weakening of the state; and that weakening from so many ruinous edicts, which the parliament had not been able to oppose. He resolved, therefore, one day to restore to this body its former freedom, and to multiply councils as a means of multiplying his own knowledge. He hastened to make himself acquainted, particularly from the moment that he became dauphin, with the state of the kingdom. He wished to become acquainted with the condition of all the provinces: the governors received orders to send him detailed *mémoires.* A journey *incognito* would have informed him better: by traversing France he would have seen towns and villages ruined, countries deserted, manufactures abandoned, the unhappy labourer groaning under the

burden of imposts, the unproductive and idle fattening on the fruits of the earth which the half-starved and oppressed peasant had produced with the bitter and unrewarded sweat of his brow. The governors answered ill his hopes and his views. All confessed the evils of the revocation of the edict of Nantes: no one deplored those evils, and sought to arrest the fatal consequences of them. The dauphin might know from that, in very good time, that the man of the king is rarely the man of the people.

The princess Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria complains that the dauphin, with all his understanding, suffered himself to be governed by his wife. This prince, indeed, gave almost too strong proof how much he loved her; his life and death equally attest the violence of his passion. The dauphiness had had her horoscope made in Italy. It was there predicted that she should die at the age of twenty-seven. She very often spoke of this prediction. One day she said to the dauphin, "The time approaches; I am soon to die. As you cannot remain without a wife, as well on account of your rank as your principles of devotion, tell me, I beseech you, whom shall you marry?" He answered, "I hope that God will never punish me so severely as to make me witness your death; but if that calamity should befal me, most surely I would never marry again, for I could not sustain your death, and I should follow you before eight days had passed." He kept his word; for he died purely of grief on the seventh day after the death of the dauphiness. "What I here attest to you is not a fable" (it is *ma-*

dame who speaks): "as for the dauphiness, she was in the best possible health, often saying, 'I must enjoy myself, for I shall not enjoy myself much longer; I am to die this year.' We did all in our power to drive away this idea from her; we turned it into ridicule; when, in the midst of our pleasantries, she fell ill, and said from the first moment, 'I shall not recover.' Unhappily she guessed but too truly."

It may be proper here to add, that from the above may be inferred, not the truth but the danger of horoscopes, which by acting too strongly on certain imaginations affect the health, and thus may even destroy life. The dauphiness was probably weak on this point; and unhappily her death brought on that of her husband, the hope of the nation.

At first, the malady which hurried the dauphiness so rapidly to the tomb was only a slight indisposition. On the 5th of February, 1712, towards night, she was seized with a slight shivering fit; she went to bed, and was not able to rise, even to go, according to her custom, to wish the king good night in his cabinet. The following morning she rose as she was wont, and passed the day in her usual manner, although she had had fever all night; and that fever returned in the evening: she continued middling all the night, and the third day the same: towards the evening she was seized with so violent a headach, that she made them beg of the king, who came to see her, not to enter. This sort of piercing pain lasted without intermission till Monday the 8th, and resisted all the means employed to remove it; when it was a little abated,

she avowed that she had suffered more than in childbirth: a state of such violent suffering put the chamber in an uproar. At last the pain went on constantly increasing. On Wednesday, the 10th, the king came in the morning to the apartment of the dauphiness: they forced the dauphin, who never stirred from her bed-side, to descend into the gardens to take the air, of which he stood so much in need; but his uneasiness brought him back into the chamber the instant after. On the night of the same day the disease increased considerably. On the following day the king entered, at nine o'clock in the morning, the apartment of the dauphiness, which madame de Maintenon scarcely ever quitted, the time excepted when the king was with her. The princess was so ill that they resolved to speak to her of receiving the sacrament. Overwhelmed as she was, she was surprised at it; she put questions respecting her state. They answered her in the least alarming manner they were able; but, without departing from the proposition, they insinuated reasons for not deferring it. She thanked them for the sincerity of the advice, and said she would prepare herself to receive it.

As they were afraid of some accident, father Larue, a jesuit, her confessor, and whom she had always seemed to like, approached her in order to exhort her to confess herself; but, however pressing he was, she made no reply. The father seeing, like a man of discernment, what this meant, said, that perhaps she felt a repugnance to confess herself to him; he entreated her to be under no restraint, to tell him whom she wished to have, and that he would

himself go and fetch him. She then signified that she would be glad to confess herself to M. Bailly, priest of the mission of the parish of Versailles. He was a man much esteemed about the court. It was found that this ecclesiastic had gone to Paris. The princess appeared afflicted at that, and evinced a desire to wait for him; but being pressed anew by father Larue, she asked for a *récollet* (a sort of Franciscan friar), called father Noel, of whom father Larue went immediately in search, and whom he brought. Nothing is a matter of indifference in courts; and this change of a confessor occupied variously the attention of all minds.

However much the dauphin had been forced to yield to the violence of his grief, he had concealed it as much as he was able, in order that he might not have to quit the pillow of his wife's bed; a fever, too strong to be long dissembled, seized him. The physicians, who wished to spare him witnessing the horrors which they foresaw, omitted nothing, both of themselves and through the king, to retain him in his own apartment, and to sustain him there from moment to moment by supposed news of the dauphiness. That princess had asked of madame de Maintenon, "Shall I not afflict father Larue by depriving him of my confidence?"—"Confidence cannot be too free," replied that lady.

The disease augmented from hour to hour; the physicians did not know the nature of it. Some said it was the small-pox; others, a malignant fever. The king forbade the dauphin to leave his own apartment. It was too late. The same malady already raged in the veins of this prince, who,

pierced with grief and love, a prey to the most frightful suspicions, said to madame de Maintenon, his only confidante, "Ah! if this death were hastened! My God, my God! I forgive them."

The sacrament was taken from the chapel of Versailles, and carried to the dauphiness; the king accompanied it, shedding tears. The dauphiness, after having communicated with the most lively faith, said to madame de Maintenon, "My aunt, I feel myself quite another person." Madame de Maintenon, stifling her sobs, replied to her, "You have approached God: he is your consolation, and will be your recompense."—"I have no grief nor regret," added the princess, "but for having offended him."—"That sentiment," replied madame de Maintenon, "is sufficient to obtain grace; but if health is restored to you—" "Ah!" replied she, "I consecrate it to God, and to him alone. But, my aunt, I suffer great uneasiness in regard to my debts; M. the dauphin knows them; I should like to see him."—"That is impossible," answered madame de Maintenon, "you have the measles." The dauphiness had her casket brought, and searched in it for the state of her debts: her strength deserting her, she shut it, placed it at the foot of her bed, again asked for her husband, and said to madame de Maintenon, who shed a torrent of tears, "Ah! my aunt, you move me!" She made her ladies be called, and said to the duchess de Guiche, "Adieu, my beautiful duchess—to-day dauphiness, and to-morrow nothing." This sentiment, by the bye, is not in very strict accordance with the religious sentiments which she had expressed shortly before.

Madame de Guiche replied, that God would restore her to the prayers of the dauphin. "He will send him this affliction," answered she; "for he chasteneth those whom he loveth." The king was present, and gave free course to his grief: some one having remarked it to the sufferer, she said, "If I loved less, and were less beloved, I should die without regret." She begged the king to pay her debts, to reward her domestics, and sometimes to remember her. A courtier then brought a powder, on the miraculous effects of which he descanted. As the case was desperate, they did not hesitate to administer it to the dying princess. The remedy restored her to recollection. She said, "Ah! how bitter that is!" Madame de Maintenon ran to her. The princess spoke some words to her, and expired, on the 12th of February, 1712.

The dauphin had passed the days and nights in prayer, sometimes offering his wife to God, sometimes beseeching God to restore her to him, and offering himself for her, when they informed him that the blow was struck. "My God!" he cried, "at least preserve the king." In getting into a coach to go to Marly, he felt himself ill. The following day he received the sacrament, and went to rejoin the king at Marly. He had a slight fever, which was attributed to uneasiness. He went to see madame de Maintenon, and said to her, "Whether the physicians have killed her, or God has taken her, I equally adore what he orders, or what he permits." The same evening he had a burning fever. The complaint redoubling in the night, the prince asked for the sacrament. He was told that his disease was

not dangerous. "I shall be dead," said he, "before it arrives." The assistants looked at one another, and knew not what to think of this discourse. At midnight the priest arrived, and said mass. The dauphin heard it with his usual fervour, and from time to time experienced the most violent pain. They awoke the king, who hastened to him, and found his grandson in delirium, and almost at the point of death. At this news Paris was in consternation; the holy sacrament was exposed; the shrine of St. Geneviève was uncovered; the churches were filled with immense crowds of people; every one offered up prayers for the preservation of a prince so beloved, and so worthy of being so. When it was known that he had breathed his last sigh, the affliction was extreme; he was bitterly lamented; it seemed that the country was ruined; he would, said they, have regenerated France; the people lost their father, and the poor their protector. In the space of ten months they witnessed the death of three dauphins and one dauphiness. The duke de Bretagne, eldest son of Louis XV., was named dauphin, and only was so fifteen days. "Mamma," said he to his governess, "the journey to St. Denis* is not too beautiful a journey."

The dauphin, duke de Bourgogne, was not less beloved by the troops than the people. This prince relates, that from the favourable report which M. de Vendôme gave him of the conduct of a sergeant of Navarre, he ordered a gratuity of ten louis to be given to the man; who would only receive one of them, saying "I will keep it all my life, and will re-

* The burial-place of the kings of France.

member that I received it from my general." Two months after, the same soldier gave new cause for extolling his behaviour. "I made new enquiries respecting him," says the duke de Bourgogne, "and I found that his conduct had been exactly the same for the thirty-two years he had been in the regiment. From a sergeant I made him a captain. He had still the delicacy to ask to fill that rank in another regiment; because, he said, he should be ashamed to see himself on an equality with those whom, till then, he had respected as his superiors. But all the officers of his regiment wished him to remain among them; and he complied with their invitation. You could not imagine," adds the duke de Bourgogne, "the good effect which this produced in the regiment, and even in the whole army."

At the battle of Echlet, where this prince had the famous Marlborough opposed to him, the two armies cannonaded each other a long time without ever approaching. Thirst and hunger had obliged the prince to dismount. The officers of his kitchen prepared to serve him up a repast: "No," replied the duke de Bourgogne, "this is not the time nor the place to hold a feast;" and, contenting himself with a slight refreshment, he resumed his arms. At the same instant a cannon ball overturned the table which he had quitted, broke his seat, and carried off the head of a valet-de-chambre; this shot was followed by a second, which killed one of his guards by his side. Although the prince was personally brave, it was known that he preferred peace to war; and the grief for his loss was so much the more violent, that to the reign of a conqueror the people

flattered themselves that they should see succeed that of a sage and pacific prince.

The maxims of the duke de Bourgogne were, that kings are made for the people, and not the people for kings; that they ought to punish with justice, because they are the guardians and the maintainers of the laws; to give recompenses, because these are debts,—never pensions, because, having nothing of their own, these can only be at the expense of the people; and he had the courage to utter these maxims in the middle of the saloon of Marly. When the equestrian statue of his grandfather was uncovered in the place de Vendôme, the king could not refrain from blaming the excessive expense which the town was at on the occasion of that ceremony, at a time when the people suffered horrible misery. The duke de Bourgogne refused to assist at the fête: he replied to the duchess de Bourgogne, who pressed him to go to it, "I am no less affected in this respect than the king: how can I enjoy myself when the people are suffering?"

One day, that three different plans were presented to the king for the re-construction of the castle of Madrid in the *Bois de Boulogne*, after the courtiers had given their opinion, "This," said the duke de Bourgogne, pointing out the most magnificent of the three plans, "this is the one the execution of which would please me most, if our army was not in want of money." As they were speaking in presence of the duke de Bourgogne of the immense riches left by cardinal Mazarin, M. de Beauvilliers said, that he had discovered the secret of calming his uneasiness on the bed of death, by disposing his

majesty to make him a generous donation: "It would have still been necessary," said the duke de Bourgogne, "for him to have had this donation ratified by the poor people, who reclaimed their spoils."

The men of letters who were in want might address themselves to the prince, sure of finding in him a generous protector, provided they united virtue to literary merit. La Fontaine, who was incapable of keeping his affairs in order, had always lived at the expense of his friends; and his works had made him a great number of these. He lost them by his conversion. It was then that the duke de Bourgogne came to his assistance. Informed that the poet was sick and in want, he sent one of his gentlemen to visit him, who carried him fifty louis, with a writ for a pension from his privy purse.

Discretion, says sir John Falstaff, is the better part of valour. Though not precisely in the sense made use of by the above authority, discretion was one of the distinguishing qualities of the duke de Bourgogne. Admitted to all the councils, never the slightest word escaped him which could let his secret be suspected. He had to defend himself on this point from the insinuating caresses of his wife, whom he did not wish to mortify, but whom likewise he knew too well to confide the state secrets to her levity. On one occasion, when she redoubled her entreaties to penetrate his secret, he replied to her by singing these verses:—

Jamais mon cœur n'est qu'à ma femme,
Parcequ'il est toujours à moi;
Elle a le secret de mon ame
Quand il n'est pas secret du roi.

In the campaign of 1709 he was to command the army on the Rhine. His equipages were prepared; but, at the moment of his departure, the comptroller general represented in the council that he had no money to give him, and that he foresaw that his army would often want necessaries in this campaign. The duke de Bourgogne combated these reasons, and maintained that it was under these troublesome circumstances that it was necessary to oppose obstacles by firmness and constancy. "Since money is wanting," added he, "I will go without a suite; I will live as a simple officer; I will eat, if it is necessary, the bread of the common soldier; and no one shall complain of wanting the necessaries of life, when he sees that I scarcely have them." The duke de Beauvilliers, who knew that his pupil possessed character enough to hold to what he promised, supported his sentiments; but the king would not consent that his grandson should be exposed to such severities.

This prince had loved stage-plays much in his early youth; when he reached a mature age, he said, "The play of a dauphin is the state of the provinces." Louis XIV. reproached him one day with having appeared to be weary of the play: "Sire," replied the prince, "I have had the pleasure of being near your majesty." The king having replied that he left him free in this respect, the dauphin thanked him for it; and from that day never appeared at the play.

This prince, "if we have writ his annals right," may, we think, be considered as the most virtuous man of his race, excepting Saint Louis and the present king of the French, Louis Philippe d'Orléans,

whom we believe to be a truly virtuous man. There is abundant evidence in the sketch of his life which we have just closed, that the horrible corruption of the class to which he belonged had not been able to corrupt him,—to sully or destroy the purity and the freshness of that fountain of human sympathies which, if placed there by nature, had at least been cherished and fed by a good early education, by the precepts and the example of such a tutor as Fénélon. And wherever this is the case, such sympathies, though found to exist in the bosom of a man with whom, from his position, the mass of his fellows could little be expected to sympathise, will ever produce a corresponding emotion in every honest and unpolluted breast. Accordingly, they who are the least likely to sympathise with kings, or with the progeny or the minions of kings,—the sternest and most severe,—will not refuse their human sympathy, that sympathy which most honourably links them with the humblest and least enlightened of their species, even to the offspring of such a man as Louis XIV., when that offspring shows that he has not forgotten those respectable emotions that have their fountain in the foundations of human nature.

CHAP. IX.

THE REGENT ORLEANS.

THE masks of hypocrisy which covered the corrupt morals of the court fell off after the death of Louis XIV. The princes and courtiers seemed to think they had a right to indemnify themselves for the long constraint which that king had imposed upon them during his devotional old age: his death was the signal of a general breaking out. They had been under restraint; they were so no longer: they passed from hypocrisy to the most unbridled licentiousness.

The ferocity and perfidy of barbarous ages, the crimes of feudalism, the disorders and abuses flowing from the vices of the government, are not the principal features of this period;—what characterises it more particularly is the extreme debauchery, rendered more dangerous by a gloss of politeness and civilisation.

It is difficult, it is impossible, to paint in their proper colours the scandalous morals of this period: they would form a picture which, however true to the original, would be too hideous for exhibition. In selecting a few sketches, we request the reader to believe that these are not to be considered as an "*ex uno disce omnes*" sample, but as the most favourable, or rather the least unfavourable specimen of the morals of the period.

"In 1719, the duchess dowager lived publicly with

Law. The duchess de Bourbon, despised by her husband, consoled herself with Du Chayla. The princess de Conti, the king's daughter, although half a devotee, and often agitated by scruples and remorse, could not send away her nephew La Vallière. The young princess de Conti, notwithstanding the jealousy of her husband, kept La Fare, and prepared to quit him for Clermont, a gentleman of her household. Her sister, mademoiselle de Charolais loved, as is well known, the duke de Richelieu; and her younger sister, the beautiful demoiselle de Clermont, already began to love the duke de Melun."*

Richelieu thus continues his cynical picture:— "Mademoiselle de la Roche-sur-Yon peaceably enjoyed De Marton; madame de Maine had the cardinal de Polignac, and some others. In this manner the princesses of the blood, whom the late king had preserved in decency and respect for the public, provided themselves well. Their amours went on in such a manner that all the world knew it and saw it, without finding any thing to say against it, because the morality and devotion of the late king had been, in truth, too burdensome."

Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France, a prince gifted with an amiable countenance, with a mild and affable character, much wit, agreeable and varied talents, knowledge tolerably extensive for a man of his rank, worthy of praise on many accounts, merits none on that of his morals. Corrupted in his youth by the abbé Dubois, his sub-preceptor, he surrounded himself, as soon as he came to the regency, with men

* Pièces Inédites sur les Règnes de Louis XIV., de Louis XV., etc. tom. ii. chap. vi. p. 80.

and women who partook of his inclination for debauchery. It was then that all the courtiers who directed or imitated this prince received the appellation of *rou's*, or persons who deserved to be broken on the wheel. The greater number were men of abandoned characters, who were proud of their depravity, and sold to the enemies of the state their influence over the mind of the regent. This prince gave to the above appellation another sense; his *roués* were, in his estimation, persons who would suffer themselves to be broken on the wheel for him: but the public, more just, gave to this word the meaning which it now bears. The dukes, the counts, the valets, whom he named his *roués;* the actresses, the duchesses, the dancers, the princesses, the ladies of honour, &c., all eagerly participated in his profligacy, and almost all filled an employment infamous even in places of infamy, which consisted in seeking out and procuring for the sultan new victims of his luxury.

Dissipation, noise, debauchery, were necessary to the regent: he admitted into his society persons whom no man that had any respect for himself would have acknowledged as friends, in spite of the birth and the rank of some among them. The licentiousness of this society was carried to such a point, that the countess de Sabran said one day in a full supper party, "that God, after having created man, took a remnant of dirt, of which he formed the souls of princes and lackeys."*

There existed, in the class of these last, beings far more honourable than the princes. Ibagnet

* Mémoires de Duclos, tom. i. p. 219.

was keeper of the Palais Royal: attached to the house of Orleans from his infancy, he had witnessed the birth of the regent, loved him tenderly, served him with zeal, and spoke to him with the liberty of an old domestic. The regent had a sort of respect for Ibagnet: he would not have dared to propose to him to be the minister of his pleasures; he was sure of a refusal. Sometimes, with a candle in his hand, Ibagnet conducted his master to the door of the chamber where he celebrated his orgies. The regent one day told him, laughing, to enter. "Monsieur," replied Ibagnet, "my service ends here; I do not go into such bad company; I am very sorry to see you do so."*

At that time the princes and dukes drank to excess, as they did under Louis XIV., and as some men of the lowest class of the people still do. The duke de Richelieu, in his Chronicle, says of the regent, "As he loved wine, much more was drunk at his house than became a regent of France. Besides having the misfortune not to bear wine so well as his companions, he often rose from table intoxicated, or having his reason very much affected. Two bottles of champagne produced that effect on him."†

"Provided that the women are gay," says the mother of the regent in one of her letters, "that they drink and eat much, my son holds them quit of love, and even of beauty. I often reproach him with having ugly ones."‡

* Mémoires de Duclos, tom. i. p. 389.

† Pièces Inédites sous le Règne de Louis XV., tom. ii. p. 7.

‡ Fragmens de Lettres Originales, première partie, p. 237.

The duchesses and princesses of the court partook of this disgraceful taste, and frequently got drunk. The mother of the regent, Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, in her letters, speaks, without blaming it, of the practice which the ladies of the court had adopted of drinking to excess. "Madame, the duchess de Bourbon," says she, "can drink a great deal without being intoxicated; her daughters wish to imitate her, but their heads are not strong enough: they are, in general, somewhat less mistresses of themselves than their mother."

Among the bad men who founded their fortune and their power on the corruption of the regent, and who sought by all sorts of means to keep up or to increase that corruption, in order to disgust him with business, was distinguished that miserable abbé Dubois, who, with the effrontery of crime, and the talent to make it prosper, came, not to the scaffold, but to the dignities of archbishop of Cambrai, of cardinal, of first minister of France, and of member of the French academy. The elevation of this man, who, according to the duke de Richelieu, was the most vile and the most wicked of men, and of whom, according to another writer, enough evil will never be spoken, would at another time have inspired the most bitter indignation; it was then only a subject of pleasantry.

Some time after the nomination of Dubois to the archbishopric of Cambrai, a prostitute, who had free entrance into the house of the regent, came and asked a favour of him. "Speak," said the regent; "what do you want?"—"The abbey of Montmartre," replied she. At these words Philip

and Dubois burst into a fit of laughter. "Why do you laugh at my request?" said she to the abbé. "You are an archbishop, and why should not I be an abbess?" The regent was obliged to admit that she was right.

Dubois openly sacrificed the interests of France to his own interest. For that treason he received from England a pension of 40,000*l.* sterling. The regent knew of it, and gave himself no trouble about it. The treason of the one, and the indifference of the other, are truly characteristic of the government of that epoch.

The regent had fits of remorse, and manifested them to Dubois. "What will history say? It will represent the orgies of my regency as those fêtes which we all know of the court of Henry III. Our festivals of darkness will be brought to light; posterity will know the details of them; the artists will engrave them." He added, "They will know, at least, that all was done at the instigation of a cardinal." Then reproaching him with having from his youth habituated him to the excesses of libertinism, he said, "Begone, dog of a cardinal!" But the cardinal knew his game, and had only to give a hint of having discovered some new pleasure, whereupon the regent opened his large eyes, and demanded immediately to be made acquainted with it.

It has been inferred from the above that the prince regent was naturally moral, and that if he had not been corrupted by his courtiers, and particularly by the infamous Dubois, his name might have figured honourably in history. If "naturally moral" here means any thing, it must mean that

certain good impressions he had received before he fell into the hands of Dubois were not entirely effaced by the bad ones that succeeded them.

The corruption in the first years of the regency did not break the bounds of the court, or extend itself beyond. " The titled women," says the author above quoted, " soon imitated the court and the princesses. The bourgeoisie alone did not appear, generally, so licentious; modest in their habits, they did not distinguish themselves like the privileged persons, who, from their rank, had more boldness and effrontery. Gradually this fatal maxim was introduced into France, that women ought to shut their eyes to the infidelities of their husbands; who were obliged, on their part, to show the same complaisance to their wives: and soon, among the great seigneurs at court, it was regarded as an inconceivable folly to behave *bourgeoisement.* They said that it was necessary to leave off this life, befitting the remains of the ancient court. These principles passed from the court of the regent into the rest of France; the princes were corrupted; the corruption was easily communicated; and I still recognise, towards the decline of my days, the fatal effects of the corruption of almost all the orders of the state."*

The *roués* of the court, weary of the effrontery of the duchesses, by way of varying their debaucheries, addressed themselves to the Parisian women, and communicated their depravity to them.

The nocturnal scenes of the Palais Royal and of the palace of the Luxembourg, in spite of the care

* Mémoires du Duc de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 90.

that was taken to conceal them from the people, transpired; and the public, who knew very well, as is usual, all that the court wished to conceal from it, not being sufficiently virtuous to feel indignation at these abominations, laughed at them, and imitated vices adorned with the splendour of luxury and the charm of power.

The focus of corruption, placed in the centre of the government, was only on that account the more dangerous; and the contagion having fortune and authority to assist it, must have made vast and rapid progress. However, several persons of the class of princes and courtiers succeeded in preserving themselves from it. Of this number were those who composed the old court of Louis XIV. Dissatisfied with the regent, accustomed to a regular life, to circumspect conduct, and to the ceremonial of the latter period of that reign, they were indignant at the disorders of the regency, and resisted the torrent; but their inveterate habits, and their advanced age, diminished somewhat the merit of that resistance.

The duchess du Maine, having a numerous court, gave brilliant fêtes, but which were not comparable to those of the duke of Orleans: these fêtes were magnificent, but decent. This duchess, an enemy of the regent, was occupied in conspiring in favour of the Bourbons of Spain, against the Bourbons of France. The discovery of this conspiracy, and the punishment of some of the conspirators, humiliated and degraded the court of the duchess, but changed nothing in its manners or in those of the court of the regent.

In the collection of letters of the duchess of Orleans, mother of the regent, there is a passage relative to the *ennui* of the duchess de Longueville, which is very characteristic of the times, and which having the merit, somewhat rare in her highness's lucubrations, of containing no indecency, may be quoted. They said to the duchess de Longueville, "Mon Dieu, madame! ennui frets you; would you not like some amusement? There are dogs here, and fine woods: would you not like to hunt?" — "No," said she, "I do not like hunting."— "Would you like some work?" — "I do not like work."— "Would you like to walk, or to play at some game?" — I like neither one nor the other."— "What would you like then?" — "What shall I say to you? *I do not love innocent pleasures.*" *

The scandalous scenes of this court ceased at the death of the principal actors, who disappeared about the year 1723; but their example had left traces too deep to be easily effaced. The year 1726 beheld a new order of things arise.

We are aware that the above sketch conveys a very bald and imperfect idea of the manifold abominations of the court of the regent Orleans; but we cannot persuade ourselves that any good purpose would be served by entering more fully into the details of that moral monster's abominable vices, who, in all but cruelty, resembled the Neros, as his daughters did the Messalinas, of antiquity.

* Fragmens de Lettres, prèmiere partie, p. 201.

CHAP. X.

LOUIS XV.

THE delicate health of Louis XV. in his infancy gave the French reason to fear, and some intriguers about the court reason to hope, for his early death. The event deceived alike those fears and those hopes: he acquired robust health by exercise; but his education was very imperfect. Study is repugnant to the inclinations of infancy; and the infant king, who felt his power, rejected it with violence; madame de Ventadour, his governess, had much trouble to make him learn the elements of grammar. For the purpose of inducing him to study, a method not unusual in such cases was employed. A young child of a poor family, and of the same age as Louis XV., was selected for the companion of his studies, and became the rival of the king, who conceived a friendship for him. Every time that Louis XV. failed in his duties, and neglected his studies, his little friend was punished. This unjust method was attended with little success. A method somewhat similar is said to have been employed with James I.; but George Buchanan, his tutor, a great lover of freedom and independence, and no great worshipper of kings, could not be prevailed upon at all times to adhere closely to this method, or even at times to respect the sitting part of the "Lord's anointed!"

One day madame de Ventadour, seeing her royal pupil obstinately determined to learn nothing, presented herself with an afflicted air, and said, "I have just been informed that the parliaments, afraid of having an ignoramus for their king, are going to assemble the states-general in order to name another king." The child wept, and cried out, "Tell them that I will study!" But he only acquired a feeble dose of instruction.

The above anecdotes respecting the education of Louis XV. were furnished to M. Dulaure by a person worthy of credit, who received them from an old man who had lived at the court of the regent.

The marshal de Villeroi sought to give the young prince false ideas. One fête day this marshal led him, in the château of the Tuilleries, from one window to another, saying to him, "Behold, my master, behold these people! Well, all these are yours, all belong to you; you are the lord and master of them."*

Louis XV. at the age of sixteen was invested with the character of king, and his tutor Fleuri with that of prime minister: the latter reigned in the name of his royal pupil. The king was still pure; corruption had not approached him. His minister, to the gravity of his advanced age, joined correct morals. The scene entirely changed its appearance. The examples of the regency became odious, and debauchery seemed to be for ever banished from the court.

Louis XV. in the first years of his marriage, faithful to the conjugal vow, put his courtiers in despair,

* Mémoires de Duclos, tom. i. p. 330.

not leaving them any hold on his morals. Those men are not able to domineer over princes exempt from passion; they cannot serve passions which princes have not, and consequently obtain the recompense of those services. They then adopted the resolution to concert among themselves to lay snares for the young king, and to plunge him into corruption: their first attempt was not successful. One of them sought to inspire him with a taste for a lady of the court: he replied to him, "*La trouveriez-vous plus belle que la reine?*"

The vicious courtiers persevered in their attacks, and Louis XV. at last yielded to them. The cardinal de Fleuri hazarded some remonstrances; his royal pupil, they say, made this answer: "I have abandoned to you the conduct of my kingdom; I hope that you will leave me master of my own."

The barrier once broken, Louis XV. no longer found any obstacles to the gratification of his desires. The countess de Mailly, his first mistress, had three sisters: la dame de Vintimille, la duchesse de Laraguais, la marquise de Tournelles. The youngest at the age of twelve, having just left her convent, supplanted her elder sister.

The king took back the countess de Mailly; then quitted her, to attach himself to another of her sisters, named De Tournelles, who imposed on him the following conditions: that she should be a duchess; that her sister Mailly should be removed from the court and shut up in a convent; that the king should repair to the army; and that she should have a complete establishment. The king granted every thing; and she became duchess de Chateauroux.

To several mistresses, whom Louis XV. took and quitted, succeeded, in 1745, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, daughter of a kept woman. She was soon distinguished by the titles of "lady of the palace" and of marchioness de Pompadour. The cardinal de Fleuri had been dead for two years; his successors did not inspire the same veneration. Louis XV. could not hold the reins of government. His mistress seized them; and, in the name of her keeper, she governed like a sovereign,—was the dispenser of favours, of the most eminent employments, and was the arbiter of peace and war. She was gifted with no ordinary talents; but she displayed neither the judgment, nor the energy, nor the high foresight, necessary in the part which she had imprudently undertaken. She had nothing of what is required in a statesman, if it be true that for that character, in its perfection, is required the possession of perhaps many of the highest attributes that are granted to man. The acquisition of the most rare and useful qualities, the eager watch of all the best opportunities of bringing them into action, and the steady industry in the application of them,—it would be preposterous to look for these in such a person; but she possessed qualities more suitable to her situation, the qualities befitting the mistress of a weak king. She consoled him in his vexations; sought out all the means proper to drive away from him that great enemy of such men as he, *ennui*. She never opposed the tastes of the king for new enjoyments; she favoured them, was often the confidant, and sometimes the accomplice in them. Delicacy, constancy, jealousy, were strangers to the sentiment which united those two persons.

Louis XV. had a great number of mistresses, or rather of victims of his taste for novelty; he had also a secret seraglio, the hermitage of the "Parc aux Cerfs," the knowledge of which he took great care to conceal from the public. At Versailles, and in a quarter little frequented, the marchioness de Pompadour had constructed a small house with a garden, which she called the hermitage. The vile courtiers of this prince had procured him a girl of twelve, of extraordinary beauty. The king was enchanted with her; but he feared the publicity of this *liaison*, and did not know where to lodge his new prey.

The marchioness de Pompadour, being informed of this intrigue, and of the embarrassment of the king, believed she might, without danger to her own power, favour the one, and put an end to the other. She told the king that she was tired of her house of the hermitage, and she offered it to him. Louis XV. accepted, as being very favourable for his projects, the restitution of this house, which was of a very simple exterior, but, within, decorated with much *recherche* and luxury.

The young demoiselle inhabited this enchanted abode; the king came frequently to visit her. Lebel, his valet de chambre, and the superintendant of his pleasures, placed at the head of this establishment one dame Bertrand, his old housekeeper, who was supposed to be the tenant, and who sometimes took the name of Dominique.

The young lady had a child by Louis XV., who then endowed her, and married her to a *gentilhomme*.

She was soon replaced by another beautiful girl of twelve, whom a marquis, a relation of Pompadour

and Lebel, tore from her mother, putting in play by turns artifice and violence. The girl was shut up in an apartment which Lebel had in one of the pavilions of the Tuilleries, since the well-known depôt of the children whom he selected at his ease, in the garden of the Tuilleries, for the pleasures of the prince.*

The mother and daughter, unexpectedly separated, made vain efforts to be restored to each other; their persecutors were neither moved by their tears nor frightened by their menaces. The mother, informed of the fate of her child, was reduced to mourn in secret. They lavished caresses and presents on the girl, — above all, promises of soon seeing her mother again; waiting till her beauty, tarnished by grief, had resumed its former brilliancy, until she could be presented advantageously to the king. The king was charmed with her; he had two children by her, and bestowed her in marriage, at the age of fifteen. The dame Bertrand had usually charge of one or two young girls, who had been carried off or seduced, and who passed in the world for her nieces. These girls, during the absences of the king, worked at tapestry. When he was tired of them, he married them with a dowry of one hundred thousand francs and jewels. There was one time when this seraglio consisted only of a single girl, and it has even remained empty five or six months together, according to the testimony of a lady who had ample means of knowing, madame du Hausset. But, after the death of the marchioness de Pompadour, the "Parc aux

* Anecdotes de la Cour de France, publiées par Soulavie, p. 233—236.

Cerfs" was peopled with a much greater number of victims.

Louis XV. sometimes went to those demoiselles; sometimes he had them introduced into a part of the château of Versailles, situated near the chapel, whither the king could go from his apartment without being seen. He was not known by these girls, with whom he passed for a Polish lord; but royalty once pierced through this disguise. The dame du Hausset, well informed on this subject, relates the following story: —

" At the time of the assassination of the king, a young girl, whom he had seen several times, and to whom he had evinced more than usual tenderness, was in despair at this frightful event. The mother abbess (for she who had the superintendence of the 'Parc aux Cerfs' may be so called) noticed the extraordinary grief which she testified, and succeeded in making her avow that she knew that the Polish lord was the king of France. She even confessed that she had searched in his pockets, and that she had taken from them two letters; one was from the king of Spain, and the other from the abbé Broglio. The young girl was scolded; and Lebel was called, the first valet-de-chambre, who ordered every thing, and who took the letters and carried them to the king, who was very much embarrassed about revisiting a person so well informed. She of whom I speak, having perceived that the king came to see her companion secretly, while she was deserted, watched the arrival of the king, and, at the moment when he entered, preceded by the abbess, who was about to retire, she entered precipitately and furiously the chamber in which her rival was; she im-

mediately threw herself at the knees of the king; 'Yes, you are the king,' cried she, 'king of all the kingdom; but that is nothing to me, if you are not also the king of my heart. Do not abandon me, sire; I thought I should go mad when you were near being killed.' The abbess cried, 'You are so still.' The king embraced her, and that appeared to calm her. They succeeded in removing her; and, some days after, they carried this unhappy creature to a madhouse, where she was treated as insane for some days: but she knew very well that she was not so, and that the king had been, in truth, her lover. This lamentable accident was related to me by the abbess."*

Louis XV., being at Paris, perceived in the garden of the Tuilleries a young girl of nine years of age, conducted by her bonne; he thought her beautiful, and mentioned it to Lebel. The latter desired the sieur de Sartines to discover this child. The police set every means at work to accomplish it; they succeeded. Some louis given to the bonne, and threats of imprisonment held out to the father, the sieur Tiercelin, delivered the child into the hands of the infamous procureur, who kept her till the age of twelve years and a half, when he introduced her into the little apartments of Versailles, under the name of madame de Bonneval. The lady Pompadour, fearing that the king would end by making a declared mistress of her, induced the minister to have the father and daughter arrested. The king, who loved the demoiselle Tiercelin, refused his consent to this

* Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature. Journal de Madame du Hausset, p. 326. et suivantes.

cruel act; he hesitated, and ended by yielding. He embraced his young favourite, then signed the order for conducting her a prisoner to the Bastille, where she was shut up in a separate chamber from that in which her father was confined. In the sequel, the demoiselle Tiercelin obtained her release from the Bastille, on condition that she should be confined in a convent, and that she should never see the son whom she had by Louis XV., and that she should not declare herself his mother.

The procurer Lebel, assisted by the dame Bertrand, was on the look-out for all the young beauties who appeared in the town or in the country; he employed violence and seduction to tear them from their family, and to sacrifice them to the luxury of his master. Woe to the relations who reclaimed their lost children, who wrote to the king to complain of these outrages! They were arrested, and plunged into the dungeons of the Bastille. How many tears have the pleasures of this man caused to be shed! how many crimes have they caused to be committed! how many acts of tyranny, how many outrages against the happiness and the indestructible rights of mankind! And yet such kings as this, and as this man's grandson, Charles X., are of more use to mankind than five hundred of those whom the absolutists denominate good kings.

Louis XV., like almost all his predecessors, associated, without repugnance, his acts of debauchery with his acts of devotion. We will allow a courtier, author of *Anecdotes of the Court*, to speak on this subject:—

"The king was religious; but he always had the fault of associating libertinism with religion. In his

little apartments he gave some proofs of it, which furnished matter of laughter to those who observed it. . . . . If he carried off so many little girls to serve his pleasures, he took the greatest care to instruct them himself in the duties of religion; he taught them to read, to write, and to pray to God, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and he did not fail to hold to them the language of devotion: he did more, he prayed himself on both knees, always with his accustomed piety, and commanded these innocent creatures not to go to bed without praying to God. When the prayer of the establishment was ended, one of them and he rose up and went to bed, always speaking of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. When, in the sequel, the 'Parc aux Cerfs' was peopled with little creatures educated for his pleasures, religion was never forgotten in their education." *

By the cares of Lebel, of M. Bertin, and others, the "Parc aux Cerfs," after the death of madame de Pompadour, was never empty of young girls. It was one of them, the daughter of the keeper of the Trianon, aged fifteen, who, seized with the small-pox, communicated it to the king and caused his death.

This king, surrounded with corrupt courtiers, gave himself up to excesses like those with which the regency had been stained. He also celebrated disgusting orgies; we have too many proofs of it: witness the *petits appartemens* which he constructed in several of his palaces or châteaux, and the *tables volantes* established in the little châteaux of Choisy

* Anecdotes de la Cour de France, chap. iv. p. 257.

and of Trianon. At each service these tables descended through an opening of the floor of the eating-room into an apartment below; where having been cleared and re-served, they were again elevated to the place whence they had descended. The guests, far from the officious looks of the domestics, found themselves free from all restraint, and had not to blush at their turpitude.

The *table volante* of the little château of Choisy existed before that of Trianon, which was not made till 1769, by the sieur Loriot. The simplicity of its mechanism rendered it very superior to that of Choisy: it rose, like the other, from under the floor, covered with a service, along with four other small tables called *servantes*, for the use of the guests; and when the table descended, the opening of the floor was entirely covered with leaves of metal, which had the agreeable form of a rose. A somewhat similar contrivance is represented in "Peveril of the Peak," somewhat *par avance*, we suspect, as having been imagined by some of the vile minions, the Lebels of Charles II., that worthy brother king of Louis XV. The dissolute tastes of Louis XV. could only be satisfied by means of outrages on morals, and on the most sacred rights of families. The agents of corruption were multiplied; the husbands and the fathers who dared to complain of the seduction exercised towards their wives or their daughters, were torn from their families, and plunged in the dungeons of the state prisons.

These immoralities were not the only ones with which the court of Louis XV. had to be reproached. This king wished to find, in the disorderly conduct

of his subjects, an excuse for his own. Consequently no means were neglected by which he could be regularly informed of all the intrigues, of all the debaucheries, of his good city of Paris. Violation of the secrecy of letters authorised dishonesty amongst the agents of power, and served to establish that false and corrupting principle, that men cannot be governed without being deceived. The inquisition exercised over the most secret actions of the citizens,—an inquisition which had for its object, not religion or morality, but a sterile and culpable curiosity,—only served to multiply the informations, the treasons, and the infamous agents of espionage.

In the royal almanack of 1774, the name of the sieur Mirlavaud figured with his title of "*Trésorier des grains au compte du roi.*" On this subject appeared the following verses, which, if they are not good, are at least historical:—

"Ce qu'on disait tout bas est aujourd'hui public:
Des présens de Cerès le maître fait trafic;
Et le bon roi, loin qu'il se cache,
Pour que tout le monde le sache,
Par son grand almanach, sans façon nous apprend
Et l'adresse et le nom de son heureux agent."

It is somewhat strange that the nobility, who long considered commerce as a degrading profession, altogether unworthy of them, could see, without complaining, the king, their chief, become a corn-merchant. Perhaps it was the monopoly that formed the distinction: at least, we have numerous examples in England, particularly in the reign of Elizabeth, of members of the aristocracy who, though holding

commerce as well as every other useful and honest occupation in sovereign contempt, did not disdain to become monopolists. One of Strafford's schemes for ruining our constitution was the king's monopoly of salt in Ireland.

A man very superior, by his energetic probity, to this king and his wretched creatures, conceived the bold project of seizing, at the same time, in the *bureaux* all the papers which proved the existence of this traffic, and of denouncing it to the king and to all France. All was arranged for the execution of this project. The author, Prévost de Beaumont, under a reign where justice had any sway, would have merited a civic crown. His scheme having been discovered by the police, he was arrested and thrown into the dungeons of the Bastille; whence he was transferred to those of Vincennes and elsewhere; then brought back to the Bastille, where he died, before the taking of that fortress by the people. He was arrested on the 17th of November, 1768, and passed in different prisons twenty-two years and two months: at Vincennes, he had irons on his feet and hands, and a plank for his bed. He was fed with two ounces of bread and a glass of water a day. *

To indulge the perverted imagination of Louis XV., a body of men skilfully organised, composed of several thousand agents of all grades, worked night and day to supply him with information respecting the secret actions of his subjects. They presented to the king various reports; some every morning, others every Sunday. These reports may be divided

* La Police dévoilée, tom. i. p. 399.

into five different classes. The first class was composed of extracts of letters opened at the post-office. The second, of all that concerned the conduct of the princes and great lords of the court. The third related to the morals of the bishops and other prelates. The fourth, to those of the inferior clergy: the archbishop of Paris received duplicates of the reports of this class. The fifth class consisted of the numerous reports made daily to the lieutenant of police by all the women who kept at Paris *des maisons de débauche.*

The secrecy of letters was daily violated at the post-office. All those the addresses of which excited a suspicion that they contained the exposure of any intrigues of gallantry or politics were dexterously unsealed; extracts were made from them, and, after having been re-sealed, they were sent off. The postmaster-general came every Sunday and presented to the king the amount of his weekly villanies. These extracts passed sometimes from the king to the ministers, who, often led away by the pleasure of telling scandalous anecdotes, divulged the secrets of families. The administration, paid by the public for transmitting its correspondence, abused both the money of the public and the confidence of individuals. It was not under the reign of Louis XV. that this criminal practice commenced; it existed under Louis XIV.; and it is to the minister Louvois, of odious memory, that the invention of this signal perfidy belongs. *

Madame du Hausset says, "The king communicated to monsieur de Choiseul the secret of the post-office; that is to say, the extracts of the letters

* Mémoires de Duclos, tom. i. p. 197.

which were opened. I have heard that M. de Choiseul abused this confidence, and related to his friends the pleasant histories, the amorous intrigues, which the letters that were opened often contained. . . . The postmaster-general brought the extracts to the king on Sunday. We saw him enter as a minister, for this formidable work. Dr. Quesnay several times, in my presence, got in a rage against this infamous ministry, as he called it: 'I would dine,' said he, 'as willingly with the hangman as with the postmaster-general.'" *

The second class concerned reports on the morals of the princes and lords. These reports were extremely numerous. Each of them was written in a quarto stitched book containing a dozen pages, and the greater number of them bore the signature of the commissary of police, Marais. Before giving any of these police reports, we shall mention some facts which show that the spirit of the ancient feudalism still animated these seigneurs.

The examples of disorders given by the regent were as fatal to public morals as the system of law was to private fortunes. It is certain that, at that time, the thirst of gold excited by the system of Law, and the most excessive libertinism authorised by the conduct of the aristocracy, perverted the mass of the French. The germs of these vices, fostered by habit, sometimes repressed, but never stifled, subsisted indeed since the barbarous ages; but at the epoch of the regency they received, particularly among powerful men, a fatal develop-

* Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature, 1817. Journal de Madame du Hausset, p. 282.

ment; and the good arising from the increase of knowledge was incessantly destroyed by the bad examples of the court.

Among the princes of this period, the count de Charolais, a prince of the blood, distinguished himself by his debaucheries, and particularly by his acts of ferocity. He presented an image of the feudal seigneurs of times past, and made a sport of men's lives. In his quality of prince of the blood, having nothing to fear from the laws, or even from public opinion, he proved, by his conduct, that the most dangerous miscreant in a community is he who believes he has the power of being so with impunity. At every murder which he committed, he came to the king, and solicited letters of pardon. Louis XV., while granting him one of these letters, said to him, "There it is; at the same time I declare to you, that the pardon of the man who shall kill you is quite ready."

Antoine Joseph, count de Horne, a reformado* captain; Laurent de Mille, also a reformado captain; and one named De l'Estang, conspired to assassinate a rich stock-jobber, and to seize upon his pocket-book. They repaired to the street Quinquempoix; and, under pretext of negotiating for a hundred thousand crowns of stock, they conducted, on the 20th March, the stock-jobber into a cabaret, rue

Capitaine réformeé: un capitaine qui ne laisse pas de tirer la paye et l'appointement de capitaine, mais moindre que la paye, que l'appointement de celui qui est en pied.—*Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.* Reformado (Spanish), an officer retained in a regiment when his company is disbanded.—*Todd's Edition of Johnson's Dictionary.*

de Venise, and poniarded him. The unhappy man, in struggling, made so much noise, that a servant of the cabaret, passing before the door of the chamber, opened it; and, seeing a man bathed in his blood, shut and locked the door, and cried out "Murder!" The assassins, seeing themselves shut in, sought their safety in flight. De l'Estang, who acted the watch upon the stairs, made off at the first cries, ran to his hotel in the rue de Tournon, where he lived, took his most portable effects, and fled. De Mille traversed all the throng of the rue Quinquempoix; but, being pursued by the people, he was arrested at the market-place. The count de Horne was arrested in letting himself drop from the window of the room into the street. On the 26th of March following, this count and his accomplice were broken alive in the place de Grève. The count de Horne confessed his guilt. His family made pressing solicitations to the regent; the criminal was his relation by the princess his mother. "Well," said he, "I will partake the shame of it; that ought to console the other relations." He then recited that verse of Corneille:—

"Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud." *

The reports which the police presented to the king did not contain crimes of this nature; such crimes were more rare in the reign of Louis XV. than in those of his predecessors. These reports contained gallant and scandalous adventures, anecdotes respecting kept women, actresses, dancers, their frequent infidelities, their rapid passage from

* Mémoires de Duclos, tom. ii. p. 25.

opulence to misery, &c. &c. These reports were called " Les Nuits de Paris." The following is an example of them, and may also serve as an example of what became of the money wrung from the hard hands of the oppressed and over-laboured peasant.

In 1768, a figurante of the opera complained, before several lords, of having lost a keeper who had given her 12,000 louis in five weeks. At these words, a Polish lord said to her that that loss was easy to repair; then La Grandi declared to him, that she would not have a lover but on condition of receiving from him a coach, two good horses, and an annuity of 100 louis settled on her. On the following day this woman saw arrive at her gate a superb coach, drawn by two beautiful horses, in which were 130,000 livres in specie, besides three led horses.

This brilliant fortune did not last long. The following account is given in one of the reports: — "When the Pole Ros.... became enamoured of La Grandi to such a degree as to let her bear his name, he gave her a watch worth 40 louis, a dress of lace, and a vis-à-vis drawn by two good horses. All this was well received; but all this was not paid for. The person who had sold the coach, the sieur Blanchard, at the hotel d'Yorck, went, between midday and two o'clock, to find the little princess at her rising; and, as she believed that this man had some favour to ask of her, she testified to him much ill-humour respecting his horses, which could not run. The sieur Blanchard, with a respectful air, jealous of the reputation of his cattle, proposed to her that he should drive them himself to Longchamp.

She permitted him to be her coachman. On the Boulevards, he proposed to her, by reason of her delicate nerves, to get out, in order that, by brisk caracoles, he might prove to her all that his horses could do under a knowing whip. She looked,—and saw them no more. They were already in the stables of their master. Mademoiselle Grandi, quite ashamed of being on foot, was too happy to accept the support of the arm of one of her admirers. . . . In the evening she was consoled for this stroke of fortune, by learning that one of her comrades, the demoiselle Haroire, who had her father for her porter, had passed from her hôtel to the hospital, for having thrown into the street an order of the king which exiled her, mistress as she was of a councillor in the parliament."*

M. de Bour .... asked the demoiselle Souville for the key of her secrétaire, under the pretext of wishing to write a letter: she gave it to him. He took from it her pocket-book, which contained a billet of his for 20,000 livres, 10,000 francs *de billets de ferme*, ear-rings, and 100 louis in specie. He fled with this booty He *generously* restored to her all of it that had not come from him. Such conduct as this is not confined to the reign of Louis XV. An incident very similar occurred at Paris a very few years ago. A native of Great Britain, a man of rank and large fortune, accompanied his mistress to the theatre on the evening before he was to leave Paris. He made some excuse for leaving the house, went to his mistress's lodgings, broke open her secrétaire, took from it a sum of money which he had just given her, and left Paris directly, having used

* La Police de Paris dévoilée, tom. i. p. 340.

the precaution to obtain his passport and every thing necessary to expedite his flight. It was lucky for this honourable gentleman that he did so; for the woman, on discovering the robbery, had the police at his heels, and he very narrowly escaped their fangs. We would not advise this person to show his face in France again in a hurry. A friend of the writer's, a man bearing the same name as the person in question, was sent for, while in Paris, to the police office. The writer of this accompanied him; and it appeared, both to him and his friend, that the police, as far as the views of this mysterious body could be divined, had issued their order with the view of ascertaining the identity of his friend with the above-mentioned delinquent. On perceiving the non-existence of such identity, they civilly dismissed him, with a *permis de séjour*.

"A great lord," says Montesquieu, "is a man who sees the king and speaks to the ministers, who has ancestors, debts, and pensions. If, with that, he is able to conceal his indolence and imbecility by an air of eagerness and importance, or by a feigned attachment to pleasure, he believes himself the happiest of men."*

The excesses of corruption were titles of glory among them; they made themselves a sort of reputation by filth, by baseness, and sometimes by crimes. When they committed any, their honour, such as it was, remained untouched; it was only injured by their being reproached for their wicked-

* Lettres Persanes, lettre lxxviii. This is a French lord: the character would apply to an English, if for eagerness we read indifference or nonchalance, that being the distinction between the respective characters.

ness. Accustomed to compliment, to etiquette, to ceremonial, they lied without scruple, as men lie in courts; they did not say what they thought, and often did not think what they said. Judging of every thing without knowing any thing, they could, as Montesquieu says, "talk a long time without saying any thing." Regularity of conduct, good order in business, punctuality in fulfilling engagements, were, in their eyes, vulgar cares; it was to live *bourgeoisement*, to pay one's debts. It was *bon ton* to borrow with base solicitations, and then to repulse the creditors with disdain. Such were, in general, the habits of the princes and seigneurs of this period.

But there existed under this reign very distinguished exceptions, more numerous even than under that of Louis XIV. In the same class, in which corruption and frivolity had established their empire, were found men who were proud of rebelling against their laws. There were individuals even of this class who could preserve themselves from the general contagion; there were others of it with whom its bad habits had not entirely extinguished the light of reason. Both, struck with the hideous spectacle which society presented, sought for the causes of it, and found them in the government. Hence those numerous writings, to which the ministers only replied by *lettres de cachet*. Hence arose an opposition party, who were named philosophers; a party which was the object of the persecutions of the protectors of vices and abuses, and of the clamours of all those who were interested in the support of old errors.

CHAP. XI.

LOUIS XV. CONTINUED.

We now proceed to the third class of police reports on which the king fed his curiosity.

It has been shown that, since the epoch when the bishops were loaded with riches and power by the barbarians whom they assisted to seize upon Gaul, corruption was established among those prelates. They joined, with some exceptions, the vices of lazy opulence to those of courtiers and military men. But, as soon as the human mind had broken the fetters of barbarism, and men began to be estimated, not by their riches and power, but by their talents and their actions, the bishops were reformed, or at least appeared to be so; for if all did not possess the virtues of their calling, nearly all, at least, observed the decencies of it. This melioration did not begin to make itself perceived till under the reign of Louis XIV. Notwithstanding the corrupting wealth of the bishops, their morals would have certainly made some further steps towards perfection, but for the scandal of the court of the regent: every thing that approached it was tainted by the contagion.

Mention has already been made of the infamous abbé Dubois, and we only recall his name here to say, that if his elevation to the premiership was a disgrace to the prince who governed, his elevation

to the cardinalship covered with ignominy the court of Rome. Among the French bishops, no voice was raised, no protestation made, against the disgraceful admission of this wretch to the highest dignities of the church; and this silence is a stain upon the bishops that will never be effaced. Three bishops, among whom it is painful to find the illustrious Massillon, degraded themselves by lending their holy ministry to the consecration of a man whose character was a stain upon manhood, whose life a libel on humanity.

Dubois found among the court bishops servants and accomplices. In the first rank of the latter must be placed the jesuit Lafiteau, who was bishop of Sisteron, and his agent at Rome. "The jesuit Lafiteau," says Duclos, "was one of the instruments whom the cardinal Dubois employed with success; he knew him for a rogue, but he did not esteem him the less on that account. He made him a bishop, in order to withdraw him from Rome, where he had discovered that Lafiteau paid his mistresses and his other pleasures out of the money that was sent him to distribute in the pope's household. Lafiteau had the character of a true valet de comédie, — roguish, impudent, and licentious."

The cardinal de Polignac, known by his political and licentious intrigues, by his varied talents, and by his poem entitled "L'Anti-Lucrèce," was amiable towards all the world except his creditors, whom he never paid: he died overwhelmed with debts.

When Louis XV. assumed the reins of government, the same disorders continued among the French

prelates, but less openly: they took more care to conceal them. The police, in its minute investigations, only succeeded with great trouble in discovering their irregularities. These bishops with carriages could not be kept up with by foot spies. One of these latter, in 1760, being in pursuit of the bishop of Orléans, who was going in his carriage to the faubourg Montmartre, says, in his report, "As these gentlemen have carriages, and go very quick, it would be necessary to have a conveyance on their account, which would be the means of making sure observations."

The following account is given in the memoirs of the time respecting this bishop of Orléans, to whom the marchioness de Pompadour gave the choice of benefices. "She preferred him because she knew him to be neutral in the affairs of the time, and because she knew from the police that he received girls from the rue Saint Honoré; that he held orgies, &c." There is a singular analogy between a royal mistress and a prelate of this description. "Could it be possible," said the marchioness to the lieutenant of police, "that this bishop was surprised with a girl?"—"A girl!" replied the magistrate; "he had collected seven of them."*

The revolution brought to light secrets condemned to eternal darkness; it furnished the history of morals with numerous and valuable materials, among which are distinguished two collections, each consisting of two volumes: the one entitled "*La Chasteté du Clergé dévoilée*," is solely devoted to ecclesi-

* Anecdotes de la Cour de France pendant la Faveur de la Marquise de Pompadour, p. 404.

astics of inferior rank; the other is entitled "*La Police de Paris dévoil'e.*" The nature of the details contained in these collections will permit us to do little more than indicate that such collections exist.

The author of "La Police de Paris dévoilée" thus speaks of the *maisons de jeu:* "It was M. de Sartines who first, under the specious pretext of assembling all the chevaliers d'industrie, whom he ought to know, caused to be opened in the capital these caverns of seduction, where the only law was, in demanding your purse, not to take your life."

We see baronesses and marchionesses solicit the privilege of these tennis courts; but, not daring to figure there themselves, they had little difficulty in finding men who were not incommoded with the same modesty. Fifteen gaming-houses were established, in different streets of Paris; and the superintendant of those houses was one named Gombaud, who received the title of general cashier. In order to give an appearance of respectability to these houses, they imagined the plan of deducting from the produce of each house 3000 livres a month for the poor.

The gaming-houses established by the lieutenant of police, De Sartines, authorised the establishment of several private gaming associations, which were held at the houses of men and women called "of quality," and even at the house of the Venetian ambassador, who, under the cloak of his title, and of the inviolability of his hôtel, held there a very productive *tripot*, to which persons of all classes were admitted. Workmen, fathers of families of the class

of mechanics, were received in a particular part of this hôtel, a place which was justly named "*l'enfer.*"

These gaming-houses were closed during the revolution; they were re-opened under the domination of Napoleon, and still continue so. The number of them, however, has been of late considerably, and, it is to be hoped, will be still farther diminished, until the pestilence be at last entirely eradicated.

The ladies, and particularly those who by their age could no longer be coquettes with success, devoted themselves to play, and devoted themselves to it with fury. "It is true," says Montesquieu, "that in their youth they devote themselves to it only in order to favour a dearer passion; but, in proportion as they grow old, their passion for play seems to grow young; and this passion fills the place of all others.

"They wish to ruin their husbands; and, in order to succeed in that, they have means for all ages, from the tenderest youth to the most decrepid old age: dress and equipage begin the disorder; coquetry augments it; play finishes it.

"I have often seen nine or ten women, or rather nine or ten ages, ranged round a table; I have seen them in their hope, in their fear, in their joy, above all, in their fury;—you would have said that they could never have been appeased, and that life would have quitted them sooner than their despair; you would have been in doubt if those whom they paid were their creditors or their legatees."

The gamblers of the court of Louis XV. displayed as little delicacy as those of the reign of Louis XIV.;

Lettres Persanes, lettre lvi.

they did not let escape the opportunity of tempering the disgraces of fortune, or of obtaining her favours by stealth.

The morals of the women of the court, which served as a model for those of women of inferior rank, were extremely licentious. Gallantry was their principal occupation. As to the bonds of marriage, they would have blushed to respect them: they broke them without repugnance, as without danger; and the complaisance of the two spouses was reciprocal. "A husband who should wish to keep his wife to himself," says Montesquieu, "would be regarded as a disturber of the public happiness, and as a madman who should wish to enjoy the light of the sun to the exclusion of other men. Here, a husband who loves his wife is a man who has not sufficient merit to make himself beloved by any other. It is not that there are no virtuous ladies; and it may be said that they are distinguished.... but they are so ugly, that one must be a saint not to hate their virtue."*

They married in order to transmit to an heir their property, their titles, and their name. This end fulfilled, the spouses lived as if they were disengaged from their bond; to marry from other motives, was to think and act *en bourgeois.*

Luxury in dress presented another source of corruption: it had become, among all classes, a want, which was increased by the rapid changes of fashion. "A woman who leaves Paris to go to pass six months in the country, returns from it as antique as if she had there forgotten herself for thirty years... Some-

* Lettres Persanes, lettre lv.

times the head-dresses mount insensibly; and a revolution makes them descend all at once. There has been a time when their height placed the visage of a woman in the middle of herself. At another time it was the feet which occupied that place; the heels formed a pedestal which supported them in the air... The architects have often been obliged to raise, to lower, and to enlarge their doors, according as the dress of the women required this change of them. One sees sometimes on a face a prodigious quantity of patches; and they all disappear the following day." This picture, though it may appear a little overcharged, is true at bottom. It is certain that, under Louis XIV., under the regency, during the course of the reign of Louis XV., and even under Louis XVI., the women wore a shoe armed with a heel of wood, the height of which was at least three inches; and their head-dress was elevated a foot above their head: they wished by these artifices to appear taller.

The women spotted their face, by applying to it pieces of black gummed taffeta, usually round, sometimes cut in stars or in crescents, more or less large; they placed them often on the temples, near the eyes, on the cheek, and on the forehead. A woman of fashion could not have less than five or six patches on her face; the more modest only wore three. They did not go out without a patch-box, the lid of which was supplied inside with a mirror, in order that, in case of accident, they might be able to repair the fall of a patch. This practice had for its motive to give effect to the whiteness of the skin, and to give brilliancy and vivacity to the countenance.

The patches, in use from the reign of Louis XIV., were not the only artifice employed by coquetry; the women painted their faces white and red, and sometimes blue. The red was so heaped on that it made them resemble persons intoxicated, or inflamed by debauchery or rage. The practice of painting the countenance,—a practice barbarous, ridiculous, and destructive to beauty,—was preserved a long time, because it was consecrated by the etiquette of the court. A lady of quality absolutely could not appear in public without having her cheeks plaistered with a thick coat of vermilion; it would have been indecent to go out without her rouge.

The masks of black velvet, which the ladies of the court still wore in the time of the regency, had fallen into disuse; the rouge and the patches supplied their place.

The strangest fashion, the most embarrassing, and that which most shocked good taste, was the fashion of hoops. In the crowd, women dressed in this manner were obliged to turn forward on one side and backward on the other the two projecting parts of the hoop, the volume of which occupied the place of three or four persons. In the sedan chairs, and in the coaches, they were obliged to have the lateral parts of this ample and ridiculous attire left out at the coach door.

At the beginning of the reign of Louis XV., the women of all conditions, from the princess down to the lowest work-woman, wore this strange dress. This fashion, as troublesome as it was in bad taste, maintained itself yet a long time at court, under the protection of etiquette, and on the stage, where it

served to retrace the ridiculous customs of our forefathers. Bad taste was associated with bad morals.

Even the men wore hoops: that name was given to the ample skirts of their coat. Whalebone, placed in the broadest part of those skirts, kept them in a state of extension and stiffness. Every step made by the man dressed in these hoop coats gave to the broad skirts such a motion that each of the angles described at least a quadrant of a circle.

All the men, young and old, of the court and of the city still wore, under the regency, the voluminous perruques in use under Louis XIV. Towards the end of his reign they had suffered some alterations in their first form. In 1693, the wig ceased to descend on each side of the bust; it was confined to cover entirely the shoulders and the back. The perruques, in suffering different changes of form, insensibly diminished in volume. All the superfluous part, which covered the back, was divided into two: those parts were tied in summer, and untied in winter; at last they remained tied in all seasons. From these two parts of artificial long hair, tied or untied, came the practice of wearing two queues, which descended parallel to each other from the perruque to the girdle. This practice was kept up among old courtiers to the reign of Louis XVI. Of these two queues they made only one.

The military men wore the perruque *à la brigadière:* it was ample about the head, and turned up behind. They at last left it off, in order to let their hair grow.

The men of the bar, always very much attached

to old customs, still preserved for a long time the perruques in folio of the reign of Louis XIV.; but they were obliged at last to yield something to the empire of fashion: they preserved to the last the part of the hair hanging on the back.

The *bourgeois*, the members of professions or trades, and even the workmen, all wore the perruque. A master tailor would have believed himself unworthy of his profession and of his grade if he had worn his own hair. At last the perruques disappeared insensibly; and there were only seen bald or obstinate old men, who, disdaining novelties, courageously preserved the artificial long hair, curled, pomatumed, and powdered. They were called in derision *têtes à perruque.*

A physician could not visit his patients without having his head muffled up in a wig *à trois marteaux*, without having his gold-headed cane, his diamond on his finger, and lace ruffles.

No one made a visit, went into any public place, or even went out, without being armed with a sword suspended by his side, as if he were going to battle, and without carrying his hat under his arm, as if it were rather intended for the arm than the head; unless, indeed, the practice was borrowed from that nation spoken of by the valiant and far-travelled Othello,—

> ——— "The men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders."

All, even to the workmen, followed this troublesome fashion. The practice of wearing the sword existed towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV.;

it continued under that of Louis XV.; and, declining insensibly, it lasted till the revolution.

The fashion of *pantins*, during part of the reign of Louis XV., occupied the attention of the Parisians, and almost all the French; in the streets and in the saloons were seen, not only children, but men advanced in age, grave magistrates, carrying in their pocket, or holding in one hand a human figure in coloured pasteboard, and pulling with the other a string which made the limbs of the figure move. As usual, songs and epigrams were made on this ridiculous amusement, of which the following is an example:—

" D'un peuple frivole et volage
Pantin fut la divinité;
Faut-il être surpris, s'il chérissait l'image
Dont il est la réalité ? "

About the year 1760 all the fashions were *à la Ramponneau*, the name of a buffoon. He played pleasant and *naïve* scenes which enchanted the Parisians. The fashions then became *à la Grecque*. The burthen of a song of this time runs—

" Ici tout est à la Grecque,
Tout est à la Ramponneau."

These denominations were also applied to modes of speaking. The following anecdote is characteristic both of the above folly in particular, and of the general folly and frivolity of the time. In the month of April, 1764, the abbé Torné, a preacher, preaching before Louis XV. at Versailles, forgot, in commencing, to make the sign of the cross; the king testified his surprise at it to the duke d'Ayen, who

replied: "You will see, sire, that it is a sermon à la Grecque." The orator began with these words: "The Greeks and Romans." The king could not refrain from laughing, and the preacher was disconcerted.

The *littérateurs*, equally affected by the common contagion, only composed frivolous or licentious works. The muses were only invoked to celebrate the charms of an actress, of a courtezan, or of a contemptible patron. A poet of the time has said of them:—

"Des protégés si bas, des protecteurs si bêtes."

The greater part of the men of this period, and particularly those who aspired to the honour of being *du bon ton*, would have blushed to give themselves up to useful occupations, and to be without intrigues; they even endeavoured to appear more foolish and more vicious than they were.

These frivolities and these means of corruption had rendered effeminate mind and body. The ladies had vapours; and, in 1769, a company obtained the exclusive privilege of establishing bureaux of parasols, at the two extremities of the Pont Neuf, in order that persons desirous of preserving the whiteness of their skin might be able to pass that bridge under shelter from the rays of the sun. In order to perceive the utility of this establishment, the reader must know that the abbés, a degenerate race, an amphibious species of animals, who were found every where,—that the young and old *petits maîtres*, and the numerous slaves of fashion,—had to oppose to the rays of the sun only a *chevelure* symmetrically arranged, whitened with starch-

powder, and that the little hat called *claque*, made to be placed under the arm, and not upon the head, elevated in the air, performed very imperfectly the functions of a parasol. One can conceive few spectacles of the kind more curious than a man dressed in the fashion, traversing on foot the streets of Paris, and when the rain surprised him, elevating with one hand over his powdered head and his symmetrical *frisure* his little hat or *claque*, drawing under his coat the handle of his frail sword, and skipping on the point of his toes from *pavé* to *pavé*, in the fear of soiling his white silk stockings.

The great events of those days, those which keenly excited the curiosity of persons of all ranks, which became the principal object of all the conversations of unoccupied people, and interested the court and the town, consisted in the success or the failure of a theatrical piece — the appearance of some couplets or epigrams — in the act of a rich and powerful man quitting one mistress for another — in losses at play — in the appearance of some bold or scandalous books, circulated clandestinely — in a word, in some new fashions and scandalous adventures. Among those degraded men, to be wanting in obedience to any of the tyrannical and troublesome laws of fashion, was to draw down the infamy of ridicule; and that species of infamy appeared to them worse than that of crime.

The French literature of that time appears to have somewhat resembled that portion of the English literature of the present day which issues from the shops of certain London booksellers, who inform the public in their puffs, inserted as advertisements

in the more respectable, but as paragraphs in the less respectable newspapers, that it is written by and for the British aristocracy. Some persons, indeed, have suggested that it is written by their menials; but that supposition does not appear at all necessary.

This character of frivolity, this state of delirium and of corruption, physical and moral, which prevailed in the opulent classes of society, and had degraded even the fine arts, did not affect the whole nation; a sane portion of it, while they admitted some exterior forms, resisted the torrent, sought out the cause of the disorder of ideas and of manners, and had not much trouble in discovering it. This discovery brought to light the vices of the government and of its institutions. They compared the ancient governments, the best modern governments, with that of France; they reasoned and drew inferences. Montesquieu published his "Esprit des Loix." Soon after arose the sect of the *Economistes*, of whom the doctor Quesnay, the marquis de Mirabeau, author of the "Ami des Hommes," the abbé Baudeau, author of the "Ephémérides du Citoyen, &c." were the founders. The *Economistes* shed new light on the different parts of the administration. The finances were in the most deplorable state; several new plans were offered to the ministers, who, instead of profiting by them, neglected them, or sent their authors to the dungeons of the Bastille.

To the *Economistes*, who maintained themselves a long time, and who had been produced by the abuses in the administration, were joined the *Philosophes*,

a sect sprung from religious abuses. Already the persecutions exercised by Louis XIV. against the protestants had considerably weakened credulity and given birth to the sceptics, or the *esprits forts;* the persecutions directed by the jesuits under Louis XV., and their strange results, augmented the number of them.

The ministers, of their own accord, or at the solicitation of the men interested in the support of abuses, replied to the new opinions by *lettres de cachet,* and sent those who proclaimed them to the state prisons. The parliament caused their books to be burned, and increased the success of the authors and of their principles.

The antagonists of this philosophy did not limit themselves to combating it by *lettres de cachet;* they published volumes against volumes: a paper war commenced. The two parties did not contend with equal arms: the one, fortified by the sovereign authority, had a great advantage over the other, which was only assisted by the light of reason. The government on one side, the jesuits and the archbishop of Paris on the other, watched over and punished the publication of every opinion contrary to the old doctrines; and these punishments put men's minds in fermentation. Every attack made on toleration and reason, every new prank of the jesuits and of the archbishop of Paris, gave rise in the enemy's camp to the accents of indignation, and to a multitude of writings, which exercised thought, turned to the profit of truth, and fortified men against persecution. The intractable writers were punished; but their books were only

on that account the more eagerly sought after, and, before being burned, had produced their effect.

The sciences, less dependent on circumstances, less proud, and less bold, than genius purely literary and philosophy, borrowing the charms of the one and the knowledge of the other, soon obtained the highest consideration. Buffon wrote his Natural History; and J. J. Rousseau clothed thoughts, though sometimes unsound, frequently profound, in the language of most impassioned eloquence.

D'Alembert and Diderôt, in constructing the immense edifice of the *Encyclopædia*, by enclosing in the same frame all the sciences and all the arts, the universality of human knowledge, have marked the degree which it had attained at that time; they have given us the means of measuring the progress which it has made since; they have opened a new career for discussion, rendered instruction more easy, and extended it over a vaster surface. The road, more conveniently opened and embellished, invited the curious to pursue it. Every part of the sciences had its worshippers, even its fanatics; and France, towards the end of this reign, offered a contrast worthy of being remarked. By the side of scenes of frivolity, of extravagance and baseness, of degrading falsehood and dissoluteness, majestically rose the temple in which burned the sacred fire, in which the sciences were advancing towards perfection, in which truths sought after or discovered were receiving a new worship, and where the worshippers were occupied with a generous devotedness in all which might contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the human race.

The old and declining barbarism, supported by habit and power, concealing the marks of its decrepitude under the gracious forms which it had borrowed from civilisation, still rivalled the latter; which, having for its support only the force of truth, did not on that account the less advance towards its end: its march was slow, but firm and majestic.

CHAP. XII.

LOUIS, DAUPHIN OF FRANCE, SON OF LOUIS XV., AND FATHER OF LOUIS XVI.

THIS prince was born on the 4th of September, 1729. As soon as he was born he was sprinkled* by the cardinal de Rohan, great almoner of France; he was then delivered into the hands of the duchess de Ventadour, governess of the children of France. There is little deserving the attention of the historian in the life of this prince; but as he was the father of Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., he must not be passed over altogether in silence.

On the 6th of June, 1734, the city, according to an ancient custom, came to present to the dauphin his first arms. The duke de Gèvres, governor of Paris, presented to the prince, with the usual ceremonies on such occasions, a sword, a gun, and two pistols, of exquisite workmanship. The dauphin took the arms, examined them one after the other with pleasure, and, charmed with their beauty, made the following reply to the provost of the merchants, M. Turgot: "Je suis bien content de ma bonne ville de Paris; je l'aime de tout mon cœur!"

The time when the august heir was to pass from the hands of the women into those of the men

* It was the etiquette for the princes of the blood to be privately christened, and afterwards baptized with great ceremony.

having arrived, his majesty selected for the governor of his well-beloved son M. the count de Chatillon, and for the preceptor M. Boyer, ancien évêque de Mirepoix, "both," says the abbé Clement, "probity itself!!" When the count went to present his respects to the young dauphin, that prince said to him, "Je suis ravi que le roi vous ait nommé pour être mon gouverneur." Turning then towards the duchess de Ventadour, he embraced her with the greatest sensibility, and expressed by his tears his regret at leaving her. The perfect health of the young prince, his intelligence, more advanced than is usual at his age, determined the king to depart from the ancient practice of not committing to men the care of the education of the children of France till the commencement of their eighth year.

M. the dauphin had been incommoded for some time by a tumour on his right cheek (in matters of such importance we love to be particular). It was judged necessary to open it. La Peyronie, the king's first surgeon, performed the operation with the greatest success; and the dauphin supported it with a courage so little looked for at his years (nine), that the king his father, who was melted even to tears by it, embraced him several times, and with the most lively emotion. This momentous event took place on the 7th of February, 1738; and from that time the health of monseigneur went on growing better and better.

On the day of his first communion, which took place on the 8th of April, 1741, this prince displayed that solid piety which he had already shown on several occasions, and of which he gave marks

all his life. One day that the prelate who superintended his education was making him run over the chronological table of the kings of France, he asked him which of them he should like to resemble. "Saint Louis," exclaimed he, "Saint Louis; yes, I should like to be a saint like him."

When the dauphin had attained his fifteenth year, his father thought of marrying him, and with that view cast his eyes on an infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip V. and of Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife. The marriage treaty having been signed, the king immediately gave orders for the arrival of the princess in France, and for her journey from the frontier. He and his son the dauphin advanced as far as Mondesir to receive her.

On the 7th of May, 1745, the king and the dauphin set out for Flanders, and arrived in the camp before Tournai. Two days after they repaired to Fontenoi, where marshal de Saxe had drawn up his troops, and was awaiting the enemy. The history of this battle belongs not to our subject; for though the dauphin, if they had let him, would unquestionably have performed prodigies of valour, the fortune of the battle, luckily for his country, did not depend upon him.

The dauphiness, in giving birth to a daughter, who only survived her two years, died on the 22d of July, 1746.

The king having determined on a second alliance for his son, made choice of the princess Marie-Josephe, third daughter of Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony, the same who had forced Stanislaus to give up his throne to him. The

duke de Richelieu was named ambassador extraordinary to the king of Poland, to ask this princess. The six months of mourning being completed, the dauphin espoused the princess of Saxony on the 9th of February, 1747.

On the 13th of September, 1751, the dauphiness gave birth to a prince, who was named duke de Bourgogne. It was at first feared that the second dauphiness would not experience on the part of the queen the same sentiments which she had testified towards the first. It might have been expected that the daughter of Stanislaus would scarcely have been able to behold with calmness the daughter of the king who had forced her father to quit the throne; but Marie Leczinki, instead of these sentiments of jealousy and vengeance, conceived for her daughter-in-law the greatest friendship.

Towards the end of the year 1752 the dauphin was attacked by the small-pox. During this illness he was attended with such care and unwearied zeal by the dauphiness, that a physician, who did not know her, and who came several times to see the dauphin, taking her for an attendant, said, "Voilà une garde impayable." When he was informed that this person was the dauphiness, his astonishment redoubled, and he said he would propose her as the model of all wives. Some one having advised the princess to take more care of her health, she replied, "What does it signify if I die, provided that he lives, and that France owes him to my tenderness and cares? There will always be found plenty of dauphinesses, if, at the expense of my own life, I can save the dauphin."

The joy which the birth of the duke d'Aquitaine had inspired was not of long duration. He died at the age of three months and fourteen days. But that loss was repaired by the birth of another prince, who was named the duke de Berry, and was afterwards the unfortunate Louis XVI.

On the 1st of October, 1757, the dauphiness brought into the world a prince who was, under Heaven, though with no great will of his own, destined to be an instrument of regeneration to his country and to mankind. He was named the count d'Artois, and became, in the fullness of time, the august monarch Charles X. The dauphiness had previously, on the 17th November, 1755, given birth to a prince, the elder brother of the count d'Artois, who was named the count de Provence. He reigned under the title of Louis XVIII.

The grief which the dauphin felt at the death of his eldest son, the duke de Bourgogne, was violent, as well as that of the dauphiness. When she learned that he was no more, from the mouth of the king himself, she fell senseless into his arms. The duke de Berry, and the count de Provence, still a child, melted into tears on seeing the condition of their tender mother.

Madame de Genlis, in her memoirs, gives the following account of the death of this young prince: —

"About this period there was an anecdote so universally repeated and believed in the great world, that I cannot here omit it. After the death of the marquis de la Haie, killed at Minden, as I have already stated, the duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the dauphin, then twelve years old, and dying of some

unknown distemper, displayed great regret at the death of my uncle (who had been his *gentilhomme de la manche**), and to whom he was extremely attached. The duke of Burgundy added, 'It was M. de la Haie who was the cause of my illness; but I promised not to mention it.' The young prince, on being interrogated, confessed that one day being alone with M. de la Haie, the latter would place him upon a rocking-horse, and had let him fall with great violence; and my uncle, perceiving no wound or fracture of any kind, and believing there was no danger, entreated the prince not to mention the circumstance. From this time the prince became ill and wore away, while the physicians were unable to discover the cause of his malady: he had an abscess in his body. The young prince died. He gave promise of a noble disposition, great talent, and sensibility: if he had survived, the unhappy Louis XVI. would never have been king, which would, of course, have given another direction to the course of events. Thus a child's plaything, a rocking-horse, changed the destiny of France, and that of all Europe!"

From nearly the age of twenty, the dauphin, anxious to instruct himself, and conscious of the defects of his early education, had made a rule to give nearly seven or eight hours a day to study. He was

* "The place of *gentilhomme de la manche* (literally, gentleman of the sleeve) about the person of the presumptive heir to the crown was given only to young gentlemen about the court, distinguished for their birth and good character. It was suppressed after the death of the duke of Burgundy, or at least the title was changed. The *menins* of monseigneur the dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) were the same officers."

so accustomed to read by himself, that he could no longer bear to be read to. His library was well selected. He had the greatest taste for the Latin authors, with whose language he was familiar. Father Bertier, a jesuit, conversing with this prince, did not dare to bring forward his ideas and display all his knowledge, restrained by his respect for the heir of the throne: "Take confidence," said the prince; "I assume here no other title but that of your friend."

On the occasion of the ceremony of the baptism of the duke de Berry, the count de Provence, and the count d'Artois, the dauphin caused to be brought into the midst of the church, by the sieur Allard, curate of the parish, the register in which is inscribed the names of all the children newly baptized, and showing it to the young princes, "Behold," said he to them, "your names placed after those of the poor and indigent. Religion and nature place all men on the same level: virtue alone makes some difference among them. Perhaps he who precedes you in this record will be greater in the eyes of God than you will ever be in the eyes of nations."

This prince died at Fontainbleau, on the 20th December, 1765, at the age of thirty-six. He was followed fifteen months after by the dauphiness. Among the eulogies of the dauphin is the following distich, made by Voltaire, to be placed under his portrait:—

"Connu par ses vertus plus que par ses travaux,
Il sut penser en sage, et mourut en héros."

CHAP. XIII.

LOUIS XVI.

SEVERAL of the vices of barbarism still prevailed at the court of Louis XVI.; but these vices, authorised by custom, embellished by a refined politeness, by luxury, and magnificence, were scarcely perceived by the vulgar, who are often content with appearances, and consider that good which appears to them beautiful. "It would be desirable," says M. Dulaure, "that youth should be early accustomed to resist the seductions of luxury, of ceremonies, of magnificence, and of pompous titles, and that it should be fortified against the snares which opulence lays for its inexperience; that it should be taught to submit to analysis the value of such words as show, precedence, magnificence, splendour, ceremonial, etiquette, illustrious birth, &c. These words, and the things which they signify, relics of our old barbarism, will be objects of ridicule when civilisation shall be more advanced.

"It would be necessary to establish a species of moral gymnasium, where young people should be accustomed to see vast and rich apartments without feeling a stupid respect, a favourable prepossession for him who inhabits them; rich dresses, all the ensigns of power, without being intimidated or filled

with veneration for him who wears them; to see proud equipages without esteeming more him who believes that he has need of them; and to hear pronounced pompous titles without feeling for those who bear them other sentiments of consideration than those inspired by a simple individual, without according to them, before knowing them, any superiority over other men. Those who adorn themselves with titles of *excellence and greatness* are not always excellent or great men."

The men of the age of Louis XV. lived under Louis XVI.; the evil was inveterate; and, although modified by civilisation, it maintained its ground and continued its ravages. Loaded with the fatal results of the pride, the unenlightened devotion, and immense profusion of Louis XIV.; loaded with the results of the corrupt morals and disorders of the court of Louis XV., the car of government continued to roll in its old tracts, continued to dazzle by its magnificence the eyes of the people: but towards the end of the reign of Louis XVI., the light, which had made great progress, more than ever illuminated the abuses of the government. These abuses, less great than those of the preceding reigns, were much better perceived.

They calculated ill the force of public opinion; the ministry believed that they could easily govern it. They despised, they combated it, and were defeated in the contest. The finances had been long exhausted, and the loans gave to them a false air of prosperity. As soon as they were intrusted to Calonne, the evil increased so rapidly that it was necessary to have recourse to violent remedies, and

the physician was called in when the disease was incurable.

Morals followed the march of knowledge: they became purer; the national character acquired more gravity; and the taste for dissipation, for drunkenness, debauchery, and frivolity, which had long disgraced the French, declined rapidly; there remained but feeble traces of it at the commencement of the revolution. They scarcely sang songs; the press was not free; and the public discontent, no longer exhaling through songs and bon mots, concentrated itself and exploded. Such were the causes of the revolution which burst forth, with the assistance of a party of powerful men. When the majority of a nation is discontented, there is only wanting, in order to overturn the throne of him who governs, an opportunity, or an ambitious man.

The feudal seigneurs, notwithstanding the progress of reason, still preserved under this reign their ancient insolence, and continued to believe themselves very superior to useful men, and even to the laws. They were still numerous in the provinces, but less so than under the preceding reigns. We shall mention a few of their acts which took place at Paris.

In the year 1780, le Mercredi Saint, the prince de L...., *grand officier de France*, his brother, and the princess de V...., were traversing the rue St. Antoine in a coach and six. At that time certain priests of the parish of Saint Paul happened to be in that street, *portant Dieu à un malade;* the religious *cortège* had not time to get out of the way of the carriage; one of the priests was overturned

and wounded. The seigneurs laughed at his fall; the people were indignant at it, and the carriage disappeared.

There was also a prince de V....., who, refusing to pay a sum which he owed to a contractor, and irritated by the reproaches which he received from him, tore to pieces the title of his creditor, overwhelmed him with blows, and put him in danger of his life.

In February, 1783, the sieur de Ch..... M....., in a cabriolet, ran foul of a voiture de place, and punished, for his own awkwardness, the coachman of the voiture, striking him twenty blows with his cane; the coachman, aggrieved, replied with his whip. The young seigneur sprang the dart of his cane, and stabbed with it several times the unhappy coachman, who fell mortally wounded. The court, without suffering the laws to interfere, took upon itself the punishment of the noble assassin.

In September, 1782, the prince de Guémenée, great chamberlain of France, failed to an amount which ruined and reduced to misery an infinite number of Parisian families: several persons who were ruined died of grief. Some persons of the family of Rohan were very much afflicted at this; others gloried in it. The cardinal de Rohan, great almoner of France, said, "It is only a king or a Rohan who could make such a failure; it was," he said also, "une banqueroute de souverain." The wife of the bankrupt prince, who by her extravagance had contributed to this failure, retired into a château of Pointoise, where she constructed a theatre, and amused herself with acting plays.

The following lines are an example of the morality of some of the *roués* of that time:—

" De Louvois suivant les leçons,
Je fais des chansons et des dettes;
Les premières sont sans façons,
Et les secondes sont bien faites.
C'est pour échapper à l'ennui
Qu'un homme prudent se dérange:
Quel bien est solide aujourd'hui?
Le plus sûr est celui qu'on mange."

Henry IV. and Louis XIV. had given the example of play: their successors imitated them. The lieutenant of police, Sartines, authorised gaming-houses in 1775. In order to diminish the odium of this establishment, the sieur de Sartines ordered that the products which resulted from it should be employed in works of beneficence, and in the foundation of some hospitals. It was promising alms to those whose ruin they were preparing.

Ruined baronesses and marchionesses were seen to solicit the advantage of possessing one of these gaming-houses, which they placed under the charge of subalterns, who participated with them in their disgraceful profits. These places were sources of misery and crime. These privileged haunts gave rise to others which were not privileged, and which were justly termed hells (*l'enfer*). Prohibited in 1778, they found a refuge at the court, where there were established bankers and swindlers, and in the privileged hotels of the ambassadors, where the police could not execute its functions.

In 1781, these games, which had ruined several

families, caused suicides and bankruptcies, and shaken commerce, were, in February, denounced in the parliament, which summoned to its bar the lieutenant of police. Fine speeches were made; and, as several persons of the highest rank themselves kept gaming-houses, the parliament decided to convoke the peers. The result was a decree of the 20th of February of that year against the bankers of gaming-houses, which threatened them with the iron collar and the whip.

The privileged gaming-houses continued with security; those which were not so also continued, but suffered disgraces. Several lettres de cachet were the punishment of infractions of the regulations. Very eminent persons were convicted of keeping these places. The contagion spread even to the societies established in the Palais Royal under the titles of *club* or of *salon;* which gave rise to an ordonnance of police of March, 1785, which interdicted gaming in these societies.

During the revolution the gaming-houses were frequently prosecuted; but these haunts of rogues and dupes, in spite of the laws and the vigilance of the police, were always re-established. The governments of the revolution have never been stained by the toleration of these infamous establishments.

"It would be curious to search," says M. Dulaure, "in the registers of the criminal courts. One might see there, that the greater number of the crimes which have devoted so many unhappy men to ignominy and the scaffold have their source in the passion for play, and in the existence of those

infamous houses, where that passion can be indulged. The following words," continues M. Dulaure, "pronounced by a man named Warrin, condemned to death in 1815, for having assassinated, in the passage of the Panorama, a hatter, his compatriot and friend, are still ringing in my ears:—'Pourquoi tous les jeunes gens qui ont le goût du jeu ne peuvent-ils me voir dans l'affreuse position où je suis? Mon exemple, en les épouvantant, les corrigérait peut-être.'"

A *quatrain* published in 1822 gives a very faithful portrait of the "maisons de jeux*:"—

> "Il est trois portes à cet antre:
> L'espoir, l'infamie, et la mort.
> C'est par la première qu'on entre,
> Et par les deux autres qu'on sort."

The sciences and literature received a considerable accession from a part of the noblesse; and that *caste,* hitherto devoted to ignorance, to inutility, and disorder, displayed unexpected talents in the discussions of the constituent assembly. This reign was signalised by discoveries in the sciences and the arts. Franklin, ambassador of the United States of America at Paris, introduced lightning conductors. On this subject was composed the following Latin verse, attributed to the minister Turgot:—

> "Eripuit cœlo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis."

* The impolicy of legalising, sanctioning, tolerating, or whatever they choose to call it, gaming-houses, has been shown on the general principles of the philosophy of legislation, in an article in the twenty-second number of the *Westminster Review*, which also contains an account of the present state of the French gaming-houses.

Nearly the same sentiment is expressed by Byron, in the following beautiful lines:—

> "While Franklin's quiet memory climbs to heaven,
> Calming the lightning which he thence had riven,
> Or drawing from the no less kindled earth
> Freedom and peace to that which boasts his birth."

This invention found, in ancient ignorance and in the partisans of barbarism, opposition, over which it has now fully triumphed. The sieur de Boisvalé having established a conductor on his house, was condemned by the sheriffs of Saint-Omer to pull it down; and the superior council of Artois, after having heard the pleading of a young advocate, whose name has since acquired a fearful celebrity, gave, on the 31st of May, 1783, a judgment which invalidated that of Saint-Omer. This young advocate was Robespierre.

A German doctor, called Mesmer, came into France, and published, in 1780, a work in which he maintained the existence of animal magnetism. Another empiric, a supernatural being, who possessed marvellous secrets, and corresponded with spirits, Joseph Balsamo, famous under the name of *Cagliostro*, was at Strasburg, and waited there in order to come to Paris and commence his part, when Mesmer had finished his, and had descended from the stage.

This man, who had traversed all the courts of Europe, was said to be two hundred years old, and, like modern quacks, professed to cure all diseases. After having duped several princes, and particularly the cardinal de Rohan, he came to Paris, where he imposed on many others. He there founded masonic

lodges, the Egyptian rite, &c.; he announced himself as possessing the secret of renewing the youth of old men, and that of regenerating morals and physics. Compromised in the famous affair of the necklace, Cagliostro was put into the Bastille, and complained that he had been robbed of his jewels by the governor of that fortress.* After his liberation having gone to London, he there published a letter to the French people, in which we find this prophecy, inspired by the knowledge which he had acquired at Paris of the state of public opinion,—a prophecy which has been verified: "The Bastille will be destroyed, and will become a promenade."

Customs.

The customs were nearly the same under Louis XVI. as under the preceding reign. The people of the court devoted much of their attention, during the years 1776, 1777, and the following years, to horse races. They attempted, during the winter of 1777, to have themselves drawn in sledges richly ornamented. This fashion was only a whim of the court, which had no consequence.

The fashions constantly changed their forms. The head-dresses of the women were raised to an exorbitant height; they intercepted the view of the spectators in the theatres, which caused frequent quarrels. The sieur de Visme, director of the opera, made, in November, 1778, a particular regulation for the amphitheatre, according to which no

* His jewels were probably somewhat of the character of sir John Falstaff's "seal ring of my grandfather's, worth forty marks."

one could sit there but with a head-dress of a moderate height. This regulation, and the caricatures which were published against these ridiculous coiffures, did not produce the lowering of them; but, in 1780, the queen's hair having fallen off in consequence of an accouchement, she wore a low coiffure, called *coiffure à l'enfant.* All the women of the court answered this signal; and the height of the coiffures, reduced at Versailles, soon was so at Paris, and afterwards in the provinces. In October, 1784, the ladies wore bonnets *à la caisse d'escompte,* bottomless bonnets, like that chest.

The dress and deportment of the men were distinguished by the same characteristics as in the preceding reign.

At the time of the revolution a sudden change took place in dress, fashions, and customs. Etiquette and ceremonial lost much of their ascendancy over the actions of men. In 1791 the Parisians preferred the riding coat to the dress coat, strings to large shoe buckles; they wore their hat upon their head, and not under their arm; left off powder, were contented with their own hair, and only wore a sword for the defence of their country. The women took to bonnets, freed themselves from the restraint of their high heels, and wore flat shoes, which gave more ease to their walk. The rouge with which they still coloured their faces insensibly disappeared; it was only employed on the stage, and to conceal the wrinkles and the paleness of old age. Nature, in a few years, resumed a part of her rights.

At Paris they dined at two o'clock; the play

began at five, and terminated at nine. This order of things was deranged by a change introduced in the government arrangements. The *employés* worked in their *bureaux* from nine o'clock till mid-day, returned again at three, and worked till nine at night. It was judged that the work of the evening was more expensive than useful; it was put an end to, and one sitting was established, from nine o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon. This change brought others, to which the generality of the population soon conformed. They dined at four, at five, and even at six. The theatres opened at seven, and closed at midnight. The breakfast took place at the hour of dinner, and the dinner at the hour of supper: for, in the time of Francis I., they dined at nine o'clock in the morning, and supped at five in the evening, according to that rhyme:—

> "Lever à cinq, diner à neuf,
> Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf,
> Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf:"

which reminds one of the rude old rhyme quoted by Franklin,—

> "Early to bed, early to rise,
> Is the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise."

Under Louis XII. they dined at eight o'clock in the morning; but, to please his last wife, that king changed his *régime*, and dined at mid-day; and, instead of going to bed at six in the evening, he often went to bed at midnight — a course of dissipation which soon killed the old monarch: this new *régime* did not gain ground at the court of France; they continued, after the death of that king, to dine

at nine or ten in the morning, and to sup at five or six in the evening. Under Henry IV. the court dined at eleven o'clock in the morning, and under Louis XIV. at the same hour.

The revolution brought a change even in epistolary formulas. For those servile and false words, " your very humble and very obedient servant," were substituted friendly salutations, assurances of esteem and consideration: respect was reserved for women and aged persons.

CHAP. XIV.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, SECOND OF THE NAME, PRINCE DE CONDÉ, SURNAMED THE GREAT.

Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, surnamed the Great, was born at Paris on the 8th of September, 1621. He was the son of Henry II., prince de Condé, and of Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency. He received at his birth the name of the duke d'Enghien, which Francis de Bourbon, count d'Enghien, brother of Louis I., had, a century before, rendered famous by the victory which he gained in the plains of Cerisola. The first years of the life of the young duke did not give promise of a life of long duration. A feeble and delicate constitution, and many maladies, gave reason to fear for him the fate of his three elder brothers, who had died in the cradle. But Heaven ordered otherwise: his constitution strengthened in the country, where his father had him brought up. At the age of eight he was sent to Bourges, to pursue his studies in the college with the other students.

Here he devoted three hours a day to reading; a practice which he is said to have kept up during the whole course of his life, even in the midst of the tumult of war. His ruling taste led him to the study of history. Plutarch and Quintus Curtius were his favourite authors, particularly the latter, whose hero, Alexander the Great, he was never

weary of admiring. In his leisure moments the duke amused himself with making verses; but he had the discretion not to show them. After his classical studies (*literæ humaniores*), the prince studied jurisprudence under Mérille, a celebrated doctor in laws in the university of Bourges; to the study of jurisprudence succeeded that of mathematics. He then applied with still more ardour to perfect himself in all bodily exercises; and he succeeded, particularly in dancing and fencing. At last the prince served his apprenticeship in war, as soon as he was able to support the fatigues of it. He was scarcely nineteen when he made his first campaign, in 1640, at the siege of Arras, under the marshals de Chaulnes, de la Meilleraye, and de Chatillon,—generals who were masters of the routine of their trade, but who did not know enough to form a great captain. It was at this siege that he became acquainted with Saint-Evremont, whom he sought to attach to himself by benefits: some time after he made him captain of his guards. A certain conformity of character made him enjoy the humour of that voluptuous and satirical philosopher. The brilliant qualities of the young prince were not without a mixture of several faults. Born sanguine and bilious, he was little susceptible of regard; endowed with an ardent imagination, he did not sufficiently study to repress the sallies of it. Violent and obstinate, he wished rather to be obeyed than loved. Superior to others by wit and birth, he sometimes abused these advantages to humble the self-love, and to laugh at the weakness, of those who approached him. He employed the sharpest irony,

the most bitter sarcasm, against all those who had the misfortune to displease him. Such was the duke d'Enghien in 1641, at the age of twenty, when he began to make himself known.

After his first campaign the young duke returned to Paris, and paid assiduous court to cardinal de Richelieu, who, forming the most favourable opinion of him, proposed to his father the marriage of the duke with one of his nieces. The prince, who had entered into other engagements for his son, gave the cardinal an answer which irritated that haughty and imperious minister: he resolved to avenge himself for the refusal. The prince had failed in the sieges of Dole and of Fontarabia. His enemies made a crime of his want of success: they reproached him with having suffered himself to be corrupted by the money of the Spaniards, and said that he merited punishment. A rumour was industriously spread, that he was about to be arrested. Intimidated by the danger which threatened him, the prince sought the cardinal, declared to him that he had obtained a release from the engagements which he had made for his son, and apologised to his eminence for that engagement having deferred the honour which he wished to do the duke d'Enghien in giving him his niece in marriage. The cardinal, flattered by the submission of the prince de Condé, forgot all; and the duke d'Enghien espoused Claire-Clemence Maille de Brézé, niece of the cardinal. The nuptials were celebrated on the 12th of February, 1641, at the palace of the cardinal, with a magnificence truly royal.

The duke d'Enghien had been led to the altar as

a victim sacrificed to the ambition of Richelieu: he had given his hand to his wife without having it in his power to give her his heart, of which mademoiselle Duvigeau, daughter of the marquis de Fors, had the possession. She died a nun. The prince, mortified at his marriage, fell into a state of languor which degenerated into a serious malady, from which care and his youth at length recovered him. As soon as his health was re-established, he set out for Flanders, and to go to the siege of Aire, the obstinate defence of which furnished the prince with opportunities of signalising his valour. Gassion, at the head of his regiment, having advanced to observe the enemy and charge their rear-guard, made his retreat when he discovered that their army was very numerous. A peril which had staggered Gassion, an intrepid officer, could not arrest the duke d'Enghien. He mounted on horseback with the marshal de la Meilleraye, who commanded at that siege, and advanced to observe the march of the Spaniards. The prince and the marshal were only accompanied by eighty officers and some volunteers. This small troop, contemptible in regard to numbers, but formidable by its courage, was surrounded by a body of cavalry. The skirmish was hot and bloody; but at last the French, animated by despair, broke through the enemy's squadrons, and regained their lines, after having given proofs of the greatest intrepidity.

The campaign of the Roussillon, in which he exposed his life like a common soldier before Collioure, was not less honourable to him; he had the advantage to accompany the king thither. The duke

commanded the noblesse at the siege of Perpignan: the town surrendered, after twenty-six days' siege and the most frightful famine. One of the conditions solicited by the besieged with the greatest earnestness, was to give up their keys only to the duke d'Enghien. When the Roussillon had submitted, the prince returned to Paris. In passing through Lyon, he did not visit the archbishop, brother of the cardinal minister. The latter was offended by this slight, and testified his resentment to the prince de Condé, who advised his son to set off immediately for Lyon. This the duke did: on his return he went to the cardinal, to tell him that he had seen his brother, who was in very good health. This characteristic anecdote shows how the strong character of Richelieu made even the pride of princes bend before it. (Sept. 1642.)

The following year he set out for Flanders, where he was to command the army. It was in that province that the war had been kindled with the greatest fury. The French fought there without the aid of their allies; and it was there that successes or reverses might have most influence on the prosperity or depression of the kingdom. The duke d'Enghien, although he was only twenty-two, obtained in a sufficient degree the confidence both of the minister and of the troops, to convert into just eulogiums the murmurs which the selection of him for a post so important had at first excited. He seemed to prove that there are men who are born what others only become, and to confirm the opinion, that the military art, like the poetical, is one that is not learned by study. This opinion, if true, would

add to the old adage, " Poëta nascitur, non fit," another—" Dux nascitur, non fit." Gibbon has some remarks on this subject so appropriate, that we shall do ourselves the pleasure of quoting them. " The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study. The talents of a commander are appropriated to those calm, though rapid, minds which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations. The former is the habit of a life, the latter the chance of a moment; and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism."—*Decline and Fall*, chap. 53.

The art of war seemed natural with the duke; he had no need of being perfected by experience and meditation. Mélos, the Spanish general, accustomed to conquer, assembled, towards the end of April, his army at Douay, and marched to Landrecy. His design was to fall upon Champagne, the fortresses of which, without provisions and without defence, promised him an easy conquest. At the first rumour of the movements of the Spaniards, the duke d'Enghien repaired to Amiens, where was the rendezvous of his army, which had not yet assembled. Impatient to join the enemy, he marched with what troops he had ready. He detached Gassion with two thousand horse, to observe the posture of the Spaniards, and to throw in succours where they might be required. Mélos invested Rocroy. From that moment the duke formed the design of fighting; " the enemy," said he, " choosing rather to risk every thing than to incur the disgrace of suffering a place to be taken the first day of his command."

He confided his plan only to Gassion, and hastening his march, arrived before Rocroy, attacked the Spaniards, against the opinion of all the officers of his council, on the 19th July, 1643, and gained the most complete victory. Of eighteen thousand men, fifteen thousand were killed or made prisoners. There were about two thousand killed on the side of the French.

Mélos, the Spanish general, charmed by the discipline which the duke d'Enghien established among his troops, thought it his duty to thank him for it. In consequence he wrote him a letter, which ended thus: — "I have been vanquished no less by your courtesy than by your arms. I congratulate you on the marks by which we perceive that the command of the forces of the most Christian king is in the hands of a prince of his blood." The capture of Thionville, of Cirq, and of some other castles, terminated this glorious campaign, which was the prelude of the prosperities of a reign fruitful in wonders, and of the immortal reputation of the duke d'Enghien.

On his return to court, he was received by the queen regent and cardinal Mazarin, prime minister, as the liberator of Alsace. He now, for want of other occupation, gave himself up to pleasure. The first officers of his household were Saint-Evremont, captain of his guards, and Bussi-Rabutin, commander of his light horse.

The duke d'Enghien, having consulted Turenne on his campaign in Flanders, the latter replied, not with the pride of a master who is giving lessons, but with the frankness of a soldier who is communi-

cating his knowledge, — "Make few sieges, and fight many battles, when you have rendered your army superior to that of the enemy by the number and goodness of your troops, — which you have already done, in part, by the battle of Rocroy. When you are well master of the country, the villages will be worth fortresses to you; but one makes it a point of honour to take a strong town, much more than to conquer with ease a province. If the king of Spain had employed in the field what it had cost him in men and money to make sieges, he would be at present the most considerable of kings."

The following year he set out for Germany, and invested Fribourg, where he fought, during three successive days, battles which set the seal to his glory. On the first day, seeing his troops engaged between a wood and the camp of the enemy, he formed a resolution worthy of his courage. With two thousand men who remained with him, he undertook to break through three thousand, very well intrenched. This rashness was necessary to disengage those who had broken the first intrenchment, and at the same time to divide the forces of the enemy, which might have succeeded in re-uniting against M. de Turenne, colleague of the duke d'Enghien in that campaign. The duke dismounted; all the general officers followed his example; he threw his general's staff into the intrenchment, and charged at the head of the volunteers, and of the regiment of Conti, to retake it. It was he who first surmounted the barricade of fir. The officers and soldiers, animated by his example, plunged into the midst of the enemy, who, astonished at seeing them

in his camp, took advantage of the obscurity of the night to escape into the woods. On the second day, which was less fortunate, but as glorious, he had the pommel of his saddle carried off by a cannon-shot. The marshal de Grammont had, at his side, his horse killed under him. It was at that moment that the prince, contemplating the field of battle strewed with dead and dying, said, "One night of Paris is sufficient to repair this loss;" words that ought to show men the value set upon their lives by those whom their folly styles heroes and conquerors. And yet they have styled this man "great," and almost elevated him into a demigod. Some of our sublime race have gone farther: the Egyptians worshipped the crocodile, and the Indians the tiger.

The prince having made himself master of Fribourg (August, 1644), re-entered France with his victorious army, leaving with Turenne six thousand men to watch over the preservation of his conquests. These two French generals presented at that time an example of concord and union indicative of two men of a superior genius. They often appeared opposed in their manner of viewing objects; but as soon as their plans came to be executed, they had but one will: superior to envy, and penetrated with a mutual esteem, one ascribed to the other all the glory of success; and the jealousy of command, which divides ordinary men, never disturbed their friendship.

On the eve of the battle of Nordlingen, gained the year after over the imperialists by the duke d'Enghien, Mercy, who commanded the enemy,

seemed secure of victory, and he compared the French to sheep who came to offer themselves to be slaughtered. Victory, long doubtful, was in fact about to declare for Mercy, when he was killed. The Bavarians, more enraged than disheartened by so terrible a blow, aimed only at avenging the death of their general. Ashamed of surviving so great a man, they took counsel only of their despair. They were so eager in the fight that the French began to give way, when the prince brought up his body of reserve. The duke d'Enghien, confounded with the common soldiers, plunged into the midst of the fire and the steel, giving his orders with that tranquillity of soul which he preserved in the midst of the most tumultuous actions. Turenne, after having vanquished the right wing, had been obliged to give ground in his turn, because that wing was supported. The duke, being informed of this, came to his assistance with the Hessians, and charged with so much fury that at last the Bavarians were put to flight. The French remained masters of the field of battle. The duke d'Enghien wrote from this place a letter to the king of France, to announce to him his victory; he ascribed the honour of it to the wisdom and valour of Turenne—a magnanimous avowal in a general of twenty-four. (3d of August, 1645.)

In the course of the campaign of 1646, the duke d'Enghien, at the head of the vanguard of six thousand men, himself took prisoner a Spanish officer, of whom he asked why the Spaniards had not remained in a very advantageous post which they had just quitted. The officer, who did not

know the prince, and believed him a great way off, replied, that the Spaniards had at first resolved to give battle, but having learned that the duke d'Enghien was at the head of the French, they changed their resolution.

On the death of his father, 26th of September, 1646, the duke d'Enghien took the name of prince de Condé; and his son, the duke d'Albret, that of duke d'Enghien.

The new prince de Condé was in mourning for his father when he was named commander of the army of Catalonia. His dress was simple and careless: his whole household, as unpretending as himself, revolted eyes accustomed to the Castilian luxury. His youth, lively and fiery, removed from him still farther the confidence of a nation who appreciated men only by their phlegm and their gravity. The Catalans, judging of his merit by his years, complained that a general had been sent to them without experience to serve his apprenticeship in war at their expense. The prince de Condé then, understanding that the luxury of the Persians was more calculated to impose on a vain people than the exterior of the Macedonians, deigned to compassionate the weakness of the inhabitants of Catalonia, by ordering a pompous fête on the mole of Barcelona. He appeared there mounted on a superb horse; he displayed on that occasion all the elegance and magnificence that taste and luxury could produce. The Catalans surprised at his noble demeanour, at his pomp and splendour, recognised in him the hero whom the black dress had concealed from their eyes.

At the siege of Lerida the trenches were opened to the sound of violins. This usage, at that time existing among the Spaniards, was a relic of the ancient chivalry, which gave a festival air to the most perilous actions. At this siege, a man named Dupré, a light horseman, exhibited a remarkable instance of courage and firmness. Being in the trenches, he obtained permission to go and give his horse drink. A cannon shot carried off the extremity of his foot; he had the wound dressed, and returned to the trenches to finish his guard. The prince de Condé having observed him, was surprised at his firmness; he asked his name, and told his commanding officer to remind him of so brave a man, who soon obtained an advantageous appointment. The prince was obliged to raise the siege of Lerida, notwithstanding his courage and the desire he had to make himself master of that place; but obstacles of all kinds were united against him. (17th June, 1647.) This disgrace was the more felt by him as it was the first he had experienced in war.

Gassion, who had first taught Condé to conquer, having gone to besiege Lens, was killed there. He was much regretted by the prince. He died without children: he used to reply to those who pressed him to marry, "I despise life too much to make to others that fatal present."

The battle of Lens was one of the most murderous and hardest contested battles fought by the prince de Condé. He rode rapidly through the ranks, and encouraged the soldiers. His haughty air and firm countenance were still more persuasive than his words: "My friends," said he, "remember Rocroy,

Fribourg, and Nordlingen: follow my example; you must seek me wherever the danger is greatest." After having heated their courage, he recommended to them to look at one another in marching, in order to observe their distances better, to keep the step in approaching the enemy, and to receive all their discharge before firing a single shot. Disorder having manifested itself in the wing where the prince was, he rallied on the spot the first line; and, seconded by Noirmontier, who commanded the second, recommenced the attack with a fury which might have seemed the effect of despair, if it had been conducted with less intelligence. The ground was disputed by the enemy with equal obstinacy. The prince threw himself into the midst of the action, giving his orders with the same tranquillity as if he had been presiding at a review. The enemy, having taken to flight, abandoned a part of their infantry, who at first sought to place themselves on the defensive; but, seeing themselves without hope of assistance, they threw down their pikes and muskets, and begged for quarter with clasped hands and their knees on the ground. The prince, touched by their misfortunes, and satisfied with their submission, granted them their lives, and made them prisoners of war. The victory was complete. The Spaniards lost their baggage and their cannon; three thousand of them were killed, and five thousand made prisoners. The prince de Condé, before and after the victory, opposed the greatest moderation to the boasting of the archduke, general-in-chief of the Spaniards. The prince said on that occasion, "We

must neither despise nor fear our enemy." (20th August, 1648.)

At the time of the troubles of the Fronde, which commenced in the year 1648, the prince de Condé was solicited to put himself at the head of the malcontents. He had strong reasons to wish to do so, as far as regarded the cardinal, who had given him the command of the troops of Catalonia only to expose him to reverses and humiliations. The prince desired to weaken the power of the cardinal, but he feared to extend too far the rights of the malcontents. He appeared a long time doubtful and wavering, persuaded that he could walk with an equal step between the minister, whom he hated, and the Frondeurs, whom he despised. While each party made efforts to draw him to its side, he suffered himself to be gained by the prayers of the queen, who, with tears in her eyes, entreated him to become the king's protector. Such a title flattered at once his courage and his pride. It was then that he said, "The insolence of these *bourgeois* becomes odious to me: I wished to serve them as long as I was persuaded that they only wished to oppose the minister; but since they attack the royal authority, I shall know well how to make them obey."

The siege of Paris was resolved on. Le Tellier affirmed that the cessation of two markets would be sufficient to bring so proud a people to reason. The prince de Condé was so convinced of it, that he said, "I will not take Paris as I did Dunkirk, by mines and attacks; but if the bread of Gonesse should fail, Paris will soon submit."

Condé used to say that this war ought only to

be written in burlesque verses. Every time they brought him some bourgeois who had been made prisoners, he took a pleasure in making them believe that at the court of Saint-Germain they regaled themselves on the ears of Parisians. Ashamed of being intrusted with the management of such a war, in which he could only signalise himself by the destruction of a few mills, and the carrying off of carts loaded with bread of Gonesse, he was one of the principal authors of a peace desired by all the citizens. The deputies repaired to Ruel, with full powers to negotiate with the princes. Condé, during the course of the conferences, one day indulged the natural impetuosity of his haughty character, and even made, in the face of the deputies, the gesture of a victorious general, which they might take for a menace. One of the deputies, a counsellor in the parliament, named *Quatre-sous*, told him that it was a very villanous gesture, of which he ought to get rid. The murmurs of the assembly excited the prince's rage; his friends were obliged to excuse him to *Quatre-sous*. This behaviour was injurious to the prince de Condé in the sequel, who saw himself abandoned in his misfortunes by those whom he had disdained, and whose support he at last sought. (March, 1649.)

Mazarin, ashamed of the gratitude which he owed to the prince de Condé, promised him much, and in no respect kept his word. The prince, weary of being cajoled by the cardinal, threw out against him the most bitter sarcasms. Ingenious in discovering his faults, he impressed an air of ridicule on the finest features of his life; he took particular

pleasure to humble him in the person of his nieces, saying that they were only fit for simple gentlemen; that if he troubled him, he would oblige the captain of his eminence's guards to bring him his master by the beard to the hôtel de Condé. The cardinal, informed of all, sought to soften him, and succeeded in it, at least in appearance.

As soon as the peace was signed, the prince brought back the court in triumph to Paris. The cardinal was at the door of the coach beside the prince de Condé, who served him as a buckler. He then said to the queen, "I esteem myself happy in having fulfilled the word which I gave, to bring back monsieur the cardinal to Paris." The queen replied, "The service which you have done the state is so great, that the king and I should be ungrateful if we ever forget it." At the commencement of the disturbances she had held to him language equally affectionate; she had even gone so far as to tell him that she considered him as her third son. The king, in embracing him, had recommended to his care the safety of the state and of his person. Some one having heard the thanks of the queen on the return of the cardinal to Paris, said that he trembled for the prince de Condé from the greatness of the service: "I do not doubt it," replied the prince; "but I have done my duty." (April, 1649.)

It was a very short time after the return of the king to Paris that the prince, more and more irritated by the refusals which he met with from the cardinal, treated him without respect before the queen-mother, and after having ridiculed and even

threatened his eminence, retired, saying, with the most ironical tone, " Adieu, Mars."

Condé, naturally satirical, often shut himself up with Miossens and Saint-Evremont, to make a malignant study of the faults of others. The object of their researches was to find a ridiculous point in the men acknowledged to be the most sage. Miossens and Saint-Evremont, on retiring from one of these conversations, wished in their turn to examine what was the ridiculous point in the prince's character; after a little consideration, they agreed that his affectation to seek for the ridiculous in others was a real point of ridicule in himself. The prince was informed of this examination; and, instead of laughing at it, he deprived Saint-Evremont of the command of his guards, and forbade Miossens to appear again in his presence,—a littleness which brings down the hero to the level of the most vulgar of mankind.

When it had been determined at court to have the princes de Condé, de Conti, and de Longueville arrested, cardinal Mazarin, always fertile in expedients, convoked a council, and had Condé apprised that it was to carry off a man named Decouture, coachman in a house in the Quartier Montmartre, who knew all the details of a pretended assassination committed against his highness. At the same time he begged the prince de Condé to order the gendarmes to assemble at nightfall behind the walls of the hôtel de Vendôme. Thus the prince himself gave his orders to be led securely to prison. They further made use of him to draw his brother the prince de Conti to the council; the duke de Longue-

ville was requested to repair thither under another pretext. All three went to the Palais Royal at the hour appointed. The queen, on seeing them, told them to pass into the saloon, and that she would follow them. As soon as they had entered the gallery, Guitaut, captain of the queen's guards, arrested the prince de Condé; Comminges, lieutenant, arrested the prince de Conti; and Cressi, ensign, arrested the duke de Longueville. The prince de Conti seemed at first inclined to make resistance; but, influenced by the example of the others, he felt the necessity of submission. The prince de Condé having asked to speak to the queen, was refused. They were led down by a little dark stair. The prince de Condé then said, "Do they mean to renew here the scene of the states of Blois?" Miossens, at the head of the gendarmes, was charged with the office of conducting them to Vincennes. The coach broke down on the road. The prince de Condé threw anxious looks on all sides, to see if any one came to deliver them. Comminges perceiving it, said to him in a tone of firmness: "Monseigneur, I am your very humble servant; but when the king's service is concerned, I listen only to my duty; and if any one should come to set you free, I will sooner poniard you than let you go out of my hands." This remark, a mixture of grandeur and ferocity, did not displease the prince, who admired in others the sentiments of heroism which existed in his own breast. He placed confidence in Comminges; and, during the three days that he was under his guard, he did not even wish the food to be tasted. When they arrived at Vincennes, they found neither supper nor

bed. The prince de Condé took two fresh eggs, threw himself on a bundle of straw, and slept for twelve hours. He was the only one who preserved his gaiety; he sang, swore, and prayed, playing sometimes on the violin and sometimes at battledore. The prince de Conti, always weeping, asked the governor for an imitation of J. C.; "and I," rejoined the prince de Condé, "I ask you for an imitation of M. de Beaufort." That duke had escaped from the castle of Vincennes two years before.

The young princess de Condé, neglected by her husband, languished in solitude: as she was without money, she had no friends. The friends of the prince her husband determined to carry off her son from the retreat of Chantilly, where he was with his mother and grandmother. The latter confined herself to weeping. The young princess, who had enjoyed no happiness from her marriage but in the caresses of her child, declared that she was resolved to follow him every where, even to the head of armies, and into the greatest perils; she wished, she said, to show herself worthy of the honour of having married the greatest prince in the world. All the partisans of the prince de Condé applauded a resolution so generous; and after many shifts, which it was necessary to make use of in order to elude the court, which watched the avenues of Chantilly, the young princess, followed by her son, succeeded in escaping from their species of prison, and arrived at Montrond, whither several seigneurs repaired, and thence conducted the princess and the duke d'Enghien to Bordeaux.

The court having been informed that Turenne

meant to carry off the princes from the castle of Vincennes, thought fit to have them transferred to Havre. The count d'Harcourt was intrusted with this expedition: every body was surprised to see a prince of the house of Lorraine undertake such an employment. The prince de Condé, as gay on the journey as if he had been on the point of regaining his liberty, made in his coach the following song against his conductors. The verses are as good as those of most heroes:—

"Cet homme gros et court,
Si connu dans l'histoire;
Ce grand comte d'Harcourt,
Tout couronné de gloire,
Qui sécourut Cazal, et qui reprit Turin,
Est maintenant, est maintenant,
Record de Jules Mazarin."

However, the cardinal was obliged to go in person and set the prince at liberty. He threw himself on his knees, prayed and wept, and tried to justify himself. The prince received him with coldness. They dined together; and, after a repast which was very short, the cardinal, in bidding him adieu, humbled himself even to kiss his boots. He replied, without looking at him, "Adieu! M. le Cardinal Mazarin." (13th February, 1651.)

In the war of the Fronde, the prince de Condé seemed to show, by the inconsistency of his conduct, that in general he hated party-spirit, and only sought the fall of his enemy. His vengeance and his wishes did not extend further. He could fight much better than negotiate; and the Frondeurs kept to the latter. For which reason, the prince said

one day, to some persons who pressed him to place himself again at the head of the Frondeurs, "Je n'aime point la guerre qui se fait avec des pierres et des pots-de-chambre; et je suis un peu poltron, lorsqu'il s'agit de me battre avec des femmes et des crocheteurs." Schiller has put a similar sentiment in the mouth of his hero Wallenstein:—

> "Set not this tongue upon me, I entreat you;
> You know it is the weapon that destroys me.
> I am routed, if a woman but attack me;
> I cannot traffic in the trade of words
> With that unreasoning sex."
>
> *Wallenstein*, First Part, Act IV. Scene 7.
> *Coleridge's Translation.*

In the heat of the troubles in 1651, the prince, returning from the chase, met at the court of the queen the king, who had just been bathing. Anne of Austria caused the prince to be told, that it was a want of respect to the king to appear in the place where he was without having been to salute him. The prince excused himself in the best way he could, and went away. A short time after, he went to the parliament: Molé, first president, assuming the tone of a severe judge interrogating a guilty person, asked him if he had seen the king? Condé replied, that he would have performed that duty if he had not been apprised that they meant to have him arrested. Molé, without noticing the complaints of the prince, said, "I shall always see you with pain in the place where you are, as long as you have not performed your duty to the king; do you mean, monsieur, to raise altar against altar?" At these words, the prince, transported with rage, said

that those who sought to calumniate his intentions only consulted their own private interests. Molé answered him with the pride of a man conscious of his innocence and the purity of his intentions: "I have never sought my private interests; for the rest, it is only to the king that I have to render an account of my actions. But you, sir,—have not you shuddered with horror at reflecting on what passed on Monday last at court?" Condé justified himself for that rencontre, and assured the first president that if he had thought that he should find the king at the court, he should not have presented himself there.

The prince de Condé repaired to an assembly which took place in the parliament, followed by a troop of men sword in hand; the coadjutor of Paris appeared there attended by an equal number of armed men. The prince, at the entreaty of the parliament, having given orders to his people to retire, the coadjutor went out to effect the departure of his. When he was about to re-enter the hall, the duke de la Rochefoucault, who held the door half open, shut it as soon as the coadjutor had half passed, in such a manner that he was caught between the two leaves. He uttered loud cries: the son of the first president, who had reason to complain of him, had the generosity to release him from his situation; but he entered the great chamber very much bruised. This scene, more pleasant than tragical, excited a scandalous quarrel between the dukes de la Rochefoucault and de Brissac. The prince de Condé, on leaving this tumultuous assembly, observed, "Paris has been

near being burned to-day; what a *feu-de-joie* for Mazarin! and these are his two most implacable enemies who have been on the point of kindling it!"

In the month of May, 1652, the prince de Condé, who was in Guyenne, resolved to leave that province in order to go and put himself at the head of the army encamped near Orleans. This journey was so much the more dangerous, as it had been guessed by his enemies before it was divulged. It was necessary to traverse one hundred and twenty leagues on the same horses, through a country where they might lay a thousand ambuscades for him, and at last obtain possession of his person. He took with him as companions in his journey only the duke de la Rochefoucault, Guitaut, Chavagnac, Lévi, and Gourville. Each changed his name, in order not to be recognised. The prince, in order to disguise himself the better, appeared the least considerable of the party, which occasioned several pleasant adventures. Being in a village-cabaret, he found nothing but eggs. The hostess, judging from the little regard that was paid to him that he was very inferior in rank to the others, said to him, "Come, my friend, make yourself useful; make the omelet." Immediately he set to work; but as one does not always succeed in one's first attempt, he threw the eggs into the fire in trying to turn them, and his awkwardness put the good woman of the house in very bad humour with him. This anecdote will suggest to the English reader the story of our great Alfred, who was "rated" on a similar occasion for his negligence as a cook.

The following day, having stopped at an inn to

give his horses a feed of oats, mine host came and said to him, "Comrade, I see that your company are in a hurry—come and help me to bridle the horses." He immediately set about doing what he was ordered; but he proved as awkward at bridling a horse as at making omelets. The landlord, scandalised at such stupidity, let loose upon him some epithets more energetic than polite, which the prince listened to, it is said, with a secret pleasure.

The day after, they went to the house of a friend of the count de Lévi, under the pretext of purchasing horses. The gentleman caused a great dinner to be served; and as he was ignorant of the quality of his guests, he endeavoured to enliven the conversation by relating to them certain anecdotes concerning the family of the prince de Condé, who, till then, was ignorant of them himself. He knit his brows a little at first; but that was not the time to be angry, and he wisely laughed at them, like the others.

After having gained some advantages over the king's troops, commanded by the marshal d'Hocquincourt, Condé repaired to Paris, and went to the parliament. Every body received him with great demonstrations of joy; the president, Bailleul, was the only one who had the firmness to reproach him with his conduct: "The court," said he, "will always derive honour and satisfaction from seeing you in the place which your birth gives you in the parliament; but it does not dissemble the displeasure it has at seeing you with your hands still reeking with the blood of his majesty's subjects." The president had the pain to see himself disavowed by his

party; and he reaped no other fruit from his zeal but the glory of having spoken like a faithful subject.

Although Condé had great subject of complaint against the coadjutor, he would never descend to unworthy means of avenging himself. Having learned that a domestic of the prince de Conti had arrived at Paris with the design of ridding him of an enemy so dangerous, he caused the man to be informed, that if in two hours he did not leave Paris and rejoin his master, he would have him hanged.

On the day of the unhappily too celebrated combat of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, the prince de Condé, who had just met with a check between Montmartre and the chapel, and seeing the action inevitable, ranged his baggage along the Boulevards, the Parisians not having consented to receive him within their city. He then entered the fauxbourg St. Antoine, where he made himself master of the intrenchments which the inhabitants had thrown up to secure themselves against the Lorraine troops. As these were not the work of professional engineers, he rectified, as well as he could, what was defective in them. His countenance was as calm and serene as if he had been at a review. He made his dispositions with as much confidence as if he possessed the superiority of numbers, and as if he were fighting for a good cause. As soon as the king's troops had advanced within thirty paces of his intrenchments, he put himself at the head of a squadron composed of an intrepid noblesse, and twice charged with fury, and twice overthrew, the battalion which was opposed to him. At the same moment the

gardes Françaises attacked the intrenchment of the rue de Charonne, of which they made themselves masters; and, after this success, they advanced along the street. The prince flew thither, and, after a furious attack, he forced the guards to retire to the barricade, where he undertook to break through them. It was there that the peril was greatest. Turenne had caused apertures to be made in the houses, from which he kept up a continual fire; and it was necessary to support a violent fire of musketry before arriving at the barricade. The greatness of the peril did not daunt the courage of Condé. He saw the danger, and believed that he was able to surmount it. He gave orders to march. His infantry, discouraged by the tremendous fire which was ready to open upon it, drew up close to the houses, and refused to follow him. The dukes de Nemours, de Beaufort, and de la Rochefoucault, indignant at this dastardly conduct, put themselves at the head of the volunteers, and went to attack the barricade, which they carried, but which was retaken the moment after: it was there that the greatest carnage took place. The prince, during this time, was in the middle of the street of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, exposed to the murderous fire of the enemy. Having pushed on farther, he had a hotter attack to sustain. The fauxbourg was a field of murder and carnage: every street presented the image of twenty particular combats; the blood ran in the kennels, like the water after a heavy shower.

The citizens, who had not been able to quit their houses, trembled on the top of their roofs or at the

bottom of their cellars. The fear with which the noise of the cannon, the cries of the dying, and the sight of the dead inspired them, was still further augmented by the groans and sobs of the women and children.

In that battle, the prince de Condé was fortunate in all the attacks which he made in person. He was seen going and coming every where with the rapidity of lightning, and always stopping where the danger was the greatest. The Parisians, astonished, began to reproach themselves with having shut their gates against him. Mademoiselle de Montpensier took advantage of the favourable disposition of men's minds to preserve him from inevitable and impending ruin. She repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, and, by means of prayers supported by threats, obtained that the gates should be opened to the prince. Furnished with full powers, mademoiselle regained the porte Saint-Antoine, which she caused to be opened, and whilst they were skirmishing in the fauxbourg the baggage entered the city. Condé, on being informed of the arrival of mademoiselle, repaired to her to concert the measures which it was proper to adopt. He presented himself before her in a condition which inspired astonishment, terror, and pity. His face was covered with sweat and dust; his eyes gleamed with vengeance, grief, and despair; his collar was torn to pieces; his linen and his hands were covered with blood, his hair in disorder, and half burned. His cuirass was shot through and through, so as to appear like a sieve (*criblé de coups*); although he was not wounded, his dress was pierced in all parts. He

held in his hand his sword, of which he had lost the scabbard. "Ah!" said he, accosting the princess, "you see a man in despair; excuse my grief; I have lost my friends, Nemours, La Rochefoucault, Clinchant,—all are dead!" (He thought so.) He then threw himself upon a seat, where he burst into tears. The great Condé wept for his friends in the heat of a murderous action, in which the image of present peril scarcely left the stunned soul time to reflect on the misfortunes of others. His tears are a testimony that he was as sensible to friendship as to glory. After some conversation, which calmed him a little, he went to rejoin his troops. In vain mademoiselle used all her efforts to retain him: "I will only skirmish," said he; "I cannot submit to make my army re-enter; I shall never be reproached with having made a retreat in open day before the Mazarins." His presence was necessary in the fauxbourg. Turenne, strengthened by new troops, which la Ferté had brought to him, had recommenced with more spirit than ever the action, which he had interrupted only to concert measures with his colleague. The destruction of the army of Condé was inevitable, if mademoiselle de Montpensier, to put a stop to the sage measures of Turenne, had not caused the cannon of the Bastille to be fired upon the king's troops. A line of cavalry was swept away. Turenne, seeing that Paris had declared itself, ordered his troops to draw off. The prince, who at that time was at the top of the steeple of the abbey of Saint-Antoine, for the purpose of observing the motions of Turenne, took advantage of the moment, and made his troops enter Paris.

This resolution was so much the more necessary, as a part of the royal army was advancing on the side of the rue du Temple. Turenne then resolved to retire to Saint-Denis, whither he conducted the king. The court had appeared so secure of victory, that the queen had sent her carriage to bring the prince de Condé prisoner. She complained to Turenne, that he had not made the king enter his capital triumphant, as he had promised him. That general had the generosity to reply, "I did not expect to find several princes de Condé in the army; I met him always before me." Turenne might have added, "and I was far from thinking that mademoiselle would make the cannon of the Bastille be fired upon the king's troops."

The prince de Condé having entered the city, a terrible sedition broke out, at first in the *place Dauphine*, afterwards in the *place de Grêve*. The people having assembled, uttered furious cries, and threatened to reduce every thing to ashes, if the burgesses refused to join the princes. Supported by the officers and soldiers, who had thrown themselves among the crowd, this multitude fired into the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, from which they were answered by a discharge of musketry. The people, who felt themselves supported, made a stout resistance: they brought faggots, which they placed against the doors, and set fire to. Those who sought to escape from the flames were massacred in the place. In this way perished Miron, a virtuous citizen, the friend of all good men; le Gras, master of requests; Ferrand, Savari, Lefevre,—all counsellors in the parliament, and all enemies of Mazarin. The tumult

increased; the curate of Saint-Jean-en-Grève presented himself in the midst of these furious men with the holy sacrament. This spectacle had no effect. The prince, during this commotion, remained quiet in the Luxembourg. Monsieur (Gaston, the king's uncle, brother of Louis XIII., and father of mademoiselle de Montpensier) entered his palace, informed him of what was going on at the Hôtel de Ville, and pressed him to go and stop the riot: "Monsieur," replied the prince de Condé, "there is no occasion why I should go for your service; however, I am not a man of sedition; I do not understand it, and I confess that I am very cowardly. Send thither M. de Beaufort: he is known and loved by the people; he will be of more service there than I." In effect, mademoiselle presented herself along with the duke de Beaufort at the place de Grêve, where their presence suddenly appeased the fury of the populace, and order was restored. (2d July, 1652.)

Some time after, the combat of Saint-Antoine, a solemn procession was ordered with the shrine of Sainte-Geneviève. The prince de Condé wished to assist at this solemnity. He appeared there with a chaplet in his hand, and from time to time made his way through the crowd to touch and kiss the shrine with an air of much devotion. However, his friends and enemies alike agreed that if he meant his conduct to be edifying, it was only ridiculous, and that he was more fitted to shine at the head of an army than to figure in a procession.

Paris having become odious to the prince, he thought of changing his residence. Every day the

press sent forth new attacks against him. These writings affected him considerably, because they showed the dispositions of the public towards him. The coadjutor was the author of the greater part of those libels. One day that the prince was occupied in reading them, some one said to him, "that must be a fine work, since you take so much pleasure in reading it."

"It is true," replied the prince, "that I take a great deal; for it makes me acquainted with my faults, which no person dares to tell me."

The day on which the prince left Paris was a day of triumph for him; he showed himself in the Tuileries, whither the persons of the highest quality had repaired to bid him adieu. The assembly was numerous and brilliant; every body appeared richly dressed. He himself, contrary to his custom, wore a magnificent dress; he walked in the midst of that band of brave followers who all lived and died attached to his fortunes. The people, who the evening before were murmuring at the neighbourhood of his army, gave him on this day a thousand benedictions. All the Parisians melted into tears in bidding him adieu. The prince replied to them:—"We depart satisfied: think, during our absence, of doing something considerable. As for us, when we shall have put our troops into winter quarters, we will return to the balls and plays: and we will participate in your pleasures, in order to refresh ourselves after the labours undertaken for the happiness of the kingdom."

The Spaniards, whom the prince de Condé joined, wished at first to humble him by mortifications that

were likely to be keenly felt by him. They gave him for colleague the archduke. The latter wished to make the prince feel his superiority. This opened his eyes to the imprudence of his revolt, and showed him that he had placed himself in a situation not very unlike that wherein had been placed, more than a century before, (with certainly, moreover, far more excuse for defection,) his distinguished and unfortunate relative, the constable de Bourbon. But, like him too in this, Condé did not let his spirit sink amid the difficulties of his situation; and his pride rather increased than diminished in his fallen fortunes. And both certainly in this showed that the character of their minds was of no ordinary, no vulgar stamp; for unless we are greatly mistaken, this is one of the peculiar characteristics of all really great minds, that every attempt to crush or oppress them only serves to awaken in them a fierce and indomitable resistance, and frequently calls up in them energies that had before slept, of the existence of which even they themselves were unaware. That which would trample other minds into dust and oblivion serves them as a new principle of existence, dispels torpor and doubt, confirms resolution, points anew the half-blunted purpose—in a word, acts upon them as the sound of a trumpet does on the war-horse.

Condé assumed with the archduke the tone of a conqueror who came to defend an overwhelmed people, and not that of a fugitive who came to beg an asylum. Although stripped of every thing, he wrote haughtily to the council of Brussels: "I am a prince of the blood of France, and as such I can, at the most, only consent to an equality between the

archduke and myself: form your resolution thereupon; and if in twelve hours my offers are not accepted, I leave the Low Countries, choosing rather to expose myself to the worst than to suffer the least outrage to my dignity." The council of Brussels subscribed to the claims of the prince; and it was decided that the same ceremonial should be observed between him and the archduke.

At length the prince de Condé, seconded by the Spaniards, and animated by the hope of an approaching revolution, determined to pass the Somme with his army. His design was to make himself master of Nantes, of Pontoise, of Senlis, of Meaux, and of other places, and thus pressing Paris close, make the court remove from it. His march spread terror through all Picardie; the noblesse of that province threw themselves into Roye, which they in vain sought to defend. Condé, irritated at such a place being put in a condition to resist him, completely ruined it, wishing by that example of severity to intimidate the other towns. The court, alarmed at his progress, partook in the terror of the people. Paris expected soon to see the red scarfs in its fauxbourgs. The king was on the point of quitting anew his capital, which he had scarcely entered. But the irruption of a foreign army into the bosom of the kingdom produced an effect the opposite of that which the prince expected. From the idol of the nation, he became all at once the object of public hatred; and from the moment that he assumed the title of generalissimo of the Spanish armies, he was looked upon as a rebel by all classes of the citizens.

After having taken Rocroi, the cradle of his glory,

and of which the king of Spain made him a present, the prince de Condé made his entry into Brussels, where he exacted and received all the honours that are usually paid to the sons and brothers of the emperors. He concluded a new treaty with Spain, the most essential article of which was, that he should remain master of the towns that should be taken from France. (1654.) Cardinal Mazarin attempted in vain to deter the prince from the conclusion of this last treaty, by offering him these towns in sovereignty: the prince haughtily replied to this offer, "that he was not actuated by the desire of being a sovereign to such a degree as not to be content with the honour of being a prince of the blood royal; that, besides, he could no longer trust the cardinal, after having been deceived by him so often; that he knew him for the man in the world whom it cost least to make offers, but that he only executed them as far as his policy permitted him for his own advantage."

However, the king being informed of the new engagements of the prince de Condé with the enemies of the state, ordered the parliament of Paris to prepare his process. The peers were convoked; the parliament gave a decree which summoned the prince to appear and answer the heads of accusation entered against him. He did not obey. The king in person repaired to the parliament; the informations made against the prince were read; and he was declared guilty of high treason, and to have forfeited the name of Bourbon. This decree brought with it the confiscation of all his property, the loss of all his offices, and his condemnation to death. When it was necessary to sign the decree, no

person could conceal his repugnance and grief. (28th April, 1654.)

The prince de Condé, to avenge himself on the French, who besieged Sténay, a town which belonged to him, and which he could not relieve, went to lay siege to Arras. Turenne was to defend this place. Hocquincourt brought him his troops that had served at the siege of Sténay, taken thirty-six days after the opening of the trenches. Hocquincourt used the utmost celerity, because the place was attacked with the greatest vigour by Condé. After having repulsed the French several times, Condé was obliged by the Spaniards to make a retreat, which he did in a masterly manner. The king of Spain wrote to him: "My cousin, I was told that all was lost;—but you have repaired all." Queen Christina, who had just abdicated the crown of Sweden, also wrote to him, "that she esteemed him so much, that she wished to march by his side with the red scarf." That queen, in speaking of Condé, used to say, "He is my hero, and the only man who compels my admiration." (1654.)

Turenne carried Maubeuge and Landrecy, whilst La Ferté, his colleague, besieged Saint-Guillain, the siege of which Condé obliged him to raise. He pursued the French, who fell back upon the army of Turenne, and he flattered himself to be able to force their lines; but he found them so well intrenched that he abandoned his design. The Spaniards, ashamed of the loss of Maubeuge, repassed the Escaut with precipitation. This passage produced a coolness between the prince and Turenne, who, up to that time, had made war without hatred and ani-

mosity, and rather as rivals in glory than as enemies. Turenne, no doubt deceived by incorrect reports, sent to the court an account of this expedition, in which persons interested in disguising the truth had made several false statements to palliate their own faults. This account was intercepted. Condé was offended at its being said that he had retired in disorder. He wrote to Turenne a letter full of bitterness, in which he reproached him with the unfaithfulness of his reports: "I should have imagined," he wrote, "that the account which you sent to the cardinal was rather the work of a gazette-writer than of a general, if I had not recognised your writing." He thus concluded: "If you had been at the head of your army, as I was at the rear-guard of mine, you would have seen the contrary of what you have written; since not one of my *cavaliers* was obliged to swim the river." This letter mortified Turenne. Afterwards these two rivals, having lost their regard for one another, no longer made war with the same generosity. (8th August, 1655.)

The maréchal de La Ferté having been made prisoner at the siege of Valenciennes, which Condé took (1656), the latter went to pay him a visit, and found him in bed, and in bad humour. He said, by way of consoling him, "I should like much better that your comrade (Turenne) had been taken; it is not that I fear him in the field, but it would have been a pleasure to me to see him meet with a disgrace, which I consider him to deserve much more than you. All I have to say to you, since you are my prisoner, is, that you shall be at liberty as soon as possible. But, as I am obliged to

keep measures with the Spaniards, I cannot dismiss you to-morrow. As for the ransom, I do not wish any from you; but I shall be very willing to receive the money which the king will give to redeem you." The prince, in fact, received a hundred thousand francs, which the king paid for his ransom.

Condé, after having made Turenne raise the siege of Cambrai, convinced of the impossibility of forcing his camp, came before Ardres, which he had not been able to surprise, and summoned the count de Rouville, who defended that place, to surrender it to him. The count made the following answer: "There is so much glory in resisting you, that, even should I be sure of sinking under the weight of the enterprise, I should wish to run the hazard of it. You may spring your mines when you please; I will present myself to defend the breach. When I consider the honour that awaits me if I succeed against so great a captain as you, I am confirmed in the resolution to risk every thing." Turenne, who approached to relieve Ardres, obliged Condé to retire. (28th August, 1657.)

The following campaign (1658) was not less glorious for the prince de Condé, since he there furnished new proofs of that courage and activity which astonished the most intrepid and the most experienced. But he did not reap any advantage from his long and perilous labours, finding himself ill-seconded, or rather hampered, in all his operations by the archduke, always jealous of his great talents and success. The prince, beaten by Turenne in the battle of Dunes, was obliged to

abandon Dunkirk, which he came to relieve, and which was taken, as well as several other places.

The two belligerent powers, exhausted and wearied by the war, began to seek for peace. On this occasion the prince de Condé showed a solicitude about the interests of his friends. He wrote the following orders to his agents at the time that the treaty was in preparation between dom Louis de Haro and cardinal Mazarin: "You will have," said the prince, "two points to manage; the first regards me, the second interests my friends. You will, no doubt, find many difficulties in the way of the transaction; but if, unfortunately, you find yourselves under the necessity of abandoning one of the two, do not hesitate,—sacrifice me for my friends. Do not suppose that I say this to deceive the ambassador, as it is called; I say it to you once more, because such is my wish. Attend to the interests of my friends; it is my chief wish that they be satisfied: without that nothing can make me agree; with that, any thing may."

Dom Louis de Haro exacted of cardinal Mazarin the complete re-establishment of the prince de Condé in all his offices and governments. The cardinal persisted in refusing evrey thing: the conferences were about to be broken up, when the prince wrote to dom Louis: "I entreat you not to retard a single moment the work of peace out of love for me; I shall be infinitely obliged to you to put, if you please, the finishing hand to it, without stopping for my interests. I do not wish to dispute any more with my master." Dom Louis de Haro having said to the cardinal, that if Spain, for the

sake of peace, were inclined to forget the word she had given to the prince de Condé, never to abandon his interests, she might testify her gratitude for the services she had received from him by forming for him a sovereignty of the places which they had resolved to dismember from Flanders. This alarmed Mazarin so much, that he now testified as much eagerness to re-establish the prince, as he had repugnance up to this moment. Letters of abolition were soon forwarded for the prince, and for all his friends and domestics. Condé immediately reentered France with all his glory and remorse. The Spaniards saw him depart without regret: he had been necessary to them during the war, but he became a burthen to them in peace. During the time that they gave him an asylum, he comported himself towards them as if he had been their sovereign.

Louis XIV., in his first interview with the prince, laid aside his habitual haughtiness, and raising with kindness Condé, who had thrown himself on his knees, and had made the humiliating avowal of his faults, he said to him, "My cousin, after the great services which you have rendered my crown, I have no wish to remember an evil which has only injured yourself." However, this monarch, ingenious in his vengeance, thought he could not better punish this haughty prince, of whom he had cause to complain, than by leaving him forgotten. He testified much outward regard towards him, but he did not employ him for nearly eight years. The prince passed them, not without secret vexation at languishing in inaction, at his superb house of

Chantilly, surrounded by all the men of genius who formed the ornament of the reign of Louis XIV. By a secret article of the treaty of the Pyrenees, the prince had obliged himself to sell Chantilly to the king. The monarch having reminded him of it in the course of the year 1663, Condé replied, "It belongs to your majesty if you please; but I beseech your majesty at least to leave me the keeper of it." The king perceived by this answer the prince's attachment to his house, and he had the generosity not to mention the subject again.

Condé was intrusted by Louis XIV., in 1668, with the conquest of Franche-Comté. He assumed from that moment a new existence, especially when he saw himself surrounded by all those brave men who, after having shared his disgraces, had equally partaken in his good fortune. Bouteville, who had become duke de Luxembourg, and was as much hated as esteemed by the king, was appointed second in command. Condé made himself master of Besançon in two days. Luxembourg took Salins with as much ease.

At the siege of Dole, commanded by the king in person, a troop of volunteers, impatient to signalise their courage under the eyes of their sovereign, made an attack with more bravery than prudence. Their rashness would have cost them dear, and not one of them would have escaped, if the prince de Condé had not thrown himself into the greatest danger to disengage them. Age had not tempered that fiery courage which concealed from him all the greatness of the danger, when he judged it necessary to brave it in order to insure the success

of an enterprise. Dole surrendered at the end of four days, 14th February, 1668.

All the poets, orators, and flatterers of Louis XIV. attributed to him the whole success of this conquest, made in the middle of winter; and they called him the hero of all the seasons. The truth is, that the greater part of the governors betrayed their duty, and suffered themselves to be corrupted. The king of Spain, on learning the loss of this province, said, "So great a king as Louis XIV. had much better have sent his lackeys to take possession of that conquest, than gone thither himself in person." The king, by way of recompensing Condé, who by his correspondence and negotiations had rendered the conquest of Franche-Comté so easy, gave him the government of that province. The prince, on his side, turned courtier, and distinguished himself by a respectful submission. He went into the king's tent, rendered him an account of his actions with diffidence, and asked his advice: all this greatly flattered the young monarch, who already believed himself master of all the secrets of the art of war.

Casimir, king of Poland, the last descendant of the Jagellons, abdicated the crown of Poland. At the solicitation of Maria de Gonzago, his wife, he at first wished to have the duke d'Enghien, who had married the queen's niece, elected his successor; but he changed his mind. The prince de Condé then entered the lists, and became the most formidable of the competitors. But the prince, who had many partisans in Poland, was surrounded by enemies at Versailles. Louis XIV. was the first to oppose the election of Condé. It would have been

too mortifying to him to have beheld on a foreign throne a prince of his blood who had shaken his own. In consequence, he caused the prince to be told to think no more of the throne of Poland; that the welfare of the state required him to remain in France. From that moment the prince de Condé gave up the idea of being king of Poland. (1669.)

A more serious mortification which the prince met with was the seizure of all his property. His debts amounted to eight millions. It is true that the Spaniards owed him six; but they did not pay him. Condé, who had never quailed before the cannon, grew pale at the sight of his creditors. Every time he left his apartment, he had to encounter the annoyance of seeing them drawn up in two lines in his antichamber. He always walked supported on two men; but, struck with this spectacle of importunity, he forgot his infirmities, and recovered the use of his legs, in order to traverse his apartments with more celerity. "*Cette pudeur bourgeoise,*" says M. Turpin, "*fait l'éloge de son cœur.*" His domestics, ill-paid, paid themselves the best way they could by robbing him. A visit which the king paid him at Chantilly completed the ruin of his affairs. Condé, who could not without shuddering behold a creditor, received with transports of joy a guest who came to multiply the number of his creditors. The zeal of the master was well seconded by that of the domestics. Vatel, comptroller of the prince's household, impatient at not seeing the purveyor arrive who had the charge of bringing the fresh sea-fish, and apparently possessing Caleb Balderstone's zeal for his master's

honour without Caleb's inventive resources, was so vexed at the delay, that, thinking they would not arrive, he went up to his chamber and plunged his sword into his breast. The court took four repasts at Chantilly, the expense of which exceeded the sum of two hundred thousand livres. However, Gourville succeeded in clearing up the chaos of the prince's debts, and at last liquidating them.

War against Holland having been resolved on, the prince was called to all the councils. It was on one of these occasions, when they were deliberating on what towns should be first attacked, that the king made him a reproach which might be taken for a compliment. "But for you," said the monarch, "we should not have so many towns to take."— "Ah, sire!" replied the prince, "your majesty promised me never to speak of it." It was the prince who advised the king to pounce like an eagle upon the United Provinces, without giving them time to recollect themselves, assuring him that in their first astonishment all the towns would open their gates. The success of the measure demonstrated the wisdom of this counsel.

The king gave orders to the prince to pass into the country of Clèves, at the head of twenty-five thousand men. He had scarcely commenced his march when he was stopped by the indocility of the Swiss, who refused to pass the Rhine, alleging that they were forbidden to attack Holland and the empire. The prince at first employed prayers and promises: the officers were easily gained; but the soldiers persevered in their refusal. The prince then sought to intimidate them by menaces; he

caused them to be surrounded by the rest of the army; he was resolved to give them no quarter: but the appearance of approaching death brought them to submission. (1672.)

It was the prince de Condé who first proposed to Louis XIV. the passage of the Rhine. The king, in deference to that advice, which was supported by Turenne, intrusted the prince with the execution of the measure. The French army passed the river in sight of the enemy, who took to flight as soon as they saw the French drawn up in battle on their bank. The prince de Condé, on account of his gout, passed the river in a boat. His son, and the duke de Longueville, his nephew, charged with fury the enemy's infantry, which had remained intrenched behind some trees. The count de Guiche received it to terms, when the duke de Longueville, heated by wine, approached the intrenchments, fired a pistol, killed an officer, and cried out, "No quarter for that *canaille!*" This rashness cost him his life. Upon the instant the enemy, actuated by despair, fired a furious volley, and the duke was killed upon the spot. Condé arrived, uneasy as to the fate of his son and his nephew. A pistol-shot was fired at him, which broke his wrist. Condé, irritated by his wound, and still more by the death of his nephew, of which he was informed, ordered this unfortunate infantry to be put to the sword,—an order which will be one of the eternal blots upon Condé's name, and entitles him to rank with "the butcher Cumberland," and others of that stamp. The inhuman order was put in execution; and those infantry, to use the scriptural, which is likewise the French phrase, were

all made to die by the edge of the sword. But for the conduct of the duke de Longueville, for which, had he lived, he ought to have been tried by a court martial, and shot, there would not have been thirty men killed in this passage. However that may be, it is impossible to justify Condé from a massacre equally horrible and unjust.

The Jews of Amsterdam, afraid of becoming soon the prey of the conqueror, made an offer to the prince, through Gourville, of a sum of two millions, to redeem their quarter from pillage. Condé replied "that he did not sell his protection," and rejected their offers. He was of opinion that they should march straight upon Amsterdam; that that city, quite panic-struck, would immediately open its gates. But the advice of Turenne was preferred to this counsel. The prince had further advised the king, who consulted him on that point, to cause the fortifications of all the conquered towns to be demolished. Turenne was of the same opinion; but Louvois, who wished to have governments to give to his creatures, obtained that the fortifications should not be rased. This first capital blunder was followed by another, which they would not have committed if they had yielded to the advice of the prince, who said, on the subject of the prisoners, who amounted to twenty-five thousand men, that they must be employed in the construction of the canal of Languedoc.* But he attempted in vain to

* Dr. Smith gives the following account of this undertaking: — "The canal of Languedoc cost the king of France and the province upwards of thirteen millions of livres, which (at twenty-eight livres the mark of silver, the value of French

make the danger be perceived of sending back so many enemies, who were only to be despised in as far as they had been ill-commanded. Louvois, from a sordid avarice, sent back for fifty thousand crowns an army to the enemy. The event here justified the wisdom of the prince's counsel.

Forced by the gout to retire to Utrecht, and to live there some time, far from business and the tumult of camps, the prince de Condé wished to converse with all the *savans*. He had the curiosity to converse with Spinosa, who, from a Jew had become a very indifferent Christian: he invited him to repair to Utrecht. It is likewise pretended that he was as much charmed with his modesty as dazzled by the subtlety of his sophisms; and that, wishing to attach him to himself, he promised him an advantageous establishment in France, that he might philosophise at his ease. Spinosa refused it all, preferring the liberty of a philosopher to the servitude of a courtier.

The battle of Sénef is one of the most bloody which Condé fought. There were three different attacks, in which he was only accused of having too much exposed his person. He had three horses killed under

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money in the end of the last century) amounted to upwards of 900,000*l.* sterling. When that great work was finished, the most likely method, it was found, of keeping it in constant repair was to make a present of the tolls to Riquet the engineer, who planned and conducted the work. Those tolls constitute at present a very large estate to the different branches of the family of that gentleman, who have therefore a great interest to keep the work in constant repair."—*Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. p. 213, 214. M'Culloch's Edition.

him; the duke d'Enghien, who always fought by his side, had two. In the second attack, the prince had dismounted at the head of a battalion, which suddenly took to flight: he found himself almost alone, surrounded by the enemy. Some one having called out to him: "Run fast, monseigneur; you will be taken;" he replied, with a smiling tranquillity, "Don't you see that I can't run with such bad legs?" He passed the night which preceded the third attack on the field of battle, wrapped in his cloak; he slept in the corner of a hedge in the midst of his infantry. (11th August, 1674.)

It was after this victory, more glorious than useful, that, on Condé's returning to Versailles to pay his court to the king, his majesty went to receive him at the top of his staircase. Condé, weakened by the ravages of the gout, could scarcely mount the steps: he said, on perceiving the king, "I ask pardon of your majesty, if I make you wait so long." —"My cousin," replied the monarch, "when one is so loaded with laurels, one cannot walk very quick."

One of the highest eulogiums paid to Turenne is undoubtedly that which Condé paid him when he was appointed to succeed that great captain, killed by a cannon shot. When he had carefully examined the situation of affairs, he exclaimed, "I should only like to have talked two hours with the shade of Turenne, to have interrogated him as to his views, in order to put myself in possession of the knowledge which he had of this country, and to take up his plans where he left them."

The close of the campaign of 1675 placed the

prince's glory at its height, and became also the termination of his labours and his triumphs. He no longer re-appeared at the head of armies. Louvois only wished for generals those whom he had raised, and whom he could remove. The glory of Condé eclipsed his own. Besides, the pitiless gout with which the prince was tormented often hindered him from acting; and the army then found itself without leaders. He could not place confidence in the others, without compromising his glory, and rendering himself responsible for their faults. This determined him to retire. He would have more easily consoled himself for the sort of oblivion into which he was about to fall, if the court had given him for his successor his son, the duke d'Enghien; but Louis XIV., who chose young ministers, wished to have generals older than he, and we may add, better.

The prince de Condé, having perceived that the council no longer paid any deference to his opinion, became altogether disgusted with the residence of court, and retired to Chantilly, where he passed much of his time in the society of learned and ingenious men. Molière, Racine, Boileau, Le Brun, Lulli, were admitted to his intimacy. But Condé, though he loved the arts, had never the power to recompense them. The disorder of his affairs prevented him from contracting the habit of being liberal. Condé, on being pressed by his friends to write his memoirs, after the example of Julius Cæsar, who, as has been emphatically said of him, wrote with the same spirit with which he fought, always refused, saying, "I could not write the

history of my life without speaking favourably of myself, and perhaps unfavourably of others: that is what I cannot bring myself to, notwithstanding the testimony which I love to bear to truth."

Condé was near his end when he learned that the duchess d'Enghien, his daughter-in-law, was attacked by the small-pox at Fontainbleau; he collected his strength, and flew thither. His assiduities and his watching near the princess increased his illness. The disease went on augmenting, till it was found impossible to transport him to Paris; and they prepared him to receive the sacraments. "*Voilà qui est parler*," said he to the physicians who announced to him his condition. Gourville having entered his chamber, he said to him, "Well, Gourville, it is over; the decree is pronounced." He expired on the 11th of December, 1686, in his sixty-sixth year.

As a general, Condé must ever rank high. With less science than Turenne, and perhaps less genius, he was yet enabled, by the boldness of his plans, and the energy and impetuosity with which he executed them, to perform more brilliant actions, though less useful. In the possession of that fiery and impetuous courage, united to sufficient presence of mind to enable him at the same time to direct others,—to be, in short, their beacon and their load-star,—there have lived but few that can compare with the great Condé. And if the nature of modern warfare be considered, where it has been supposed more difficult to preserve self-possession than in the ancient, inasmuch as in the modern a man, the moment he comes within range of cannon-shot,

must consider himself exposed every instant to invisible death, and is apt on that account to lose all presence of mind; whereas in the ancient, death presented itself under the palpable form of a sword, a spear, or an arrow, and therefore gave some notice of its approach, often sufficient for the escape of its victim: if all this be considered, Condé must certainly be allowed to have possessed great physical insensibility to danger.

Such was he physically and intellectually:— morally, this great warrior must be viewed in a very different light. The standard of morals of his age, it is true, was sufficiently low. But, even allowing for that, Condé's morals must be placed low on that scale. Only compare him with the constable de Bourbon, who lived in a much darker age than his; how he must suffer by the comparison! It is true, he was compelled at an early age to sacrifice his domestic happiness to the execrable ambition of Richelieu; but even that will not justify him for such crimes as have been laid to his charge. At the same time, we are aware that the crime of incest is viewed by the scions of royal houses, the privileged inheritors of the "right divine," in a somewhat different light from that in which it is seen by vulgar unprivileged mortals, the mere sons and daughters of mother earth. Be it so:—

> "A different doom our fates assign:
> Theirs be ——
> And sceptred care."

CHAP. XV.

BRANCH OF ORLEANS.

Philip, Duke of Orleans, Monsieur, only brother of Louis XIV.

PHILIP of France, second son of Louis XIII., and of Anne-Marie of Austria, was born the 21st of September, 1640, and was at first called the duke d'Anjou, until the death of Gaston his uncle, duke of Orleans, the first who had borne that title. The celebrated La Mothe Levayer was appointed his preceptor, and at first was at great pains with his education. But cardinal Mazarin, perceiving that the king had less vivacity than monsieur, was afraid that the latter might be better educated than the king; and, under this singular apprehension, he ordered the tutor not to make his majesty's brother study at all. "What are you thinking about," said he one day to Levayer, "to make an able man of the king's brother? Should he become more learned than his elder brother, he would no longer be able to yield a blind obedience." This detestable principle is the same as that of the Turkish despotism, which suffers "no brother near the throne," at least no brother in the possession of freedom and of cultivated faculties.

From this moment the education of monsieur was

no less neglected than that of the king his brother; and the want of the knowledge the most common, and the most essentially necessary in society, was equal in both. They could scarcely read and write: monsieur, in particular, wrote so ill that he could not read his own writing.

Never were seen two brothers more different, more opposed in their manners, than Louis XIV. and monsieur. Every thing in the king announced nobility, dignity, majesty. Monsieur, without having any thing ignoble in his air, had nothing very distinguished: he was very little; he had his eyebrows and eye-lashes, as well as his hair, black as jet; large, beautiful, hazel eyes; a long countenance, a large nose, a small mouth, and bad teeth. His tastes were unlike the king's: he neither loved horses nor hunting; his only delight was in gaming, eating, dancing, and dressing.

The weak and contemptible character of this prince presents few points worthy of the attention of the historian. About the age of twenty-one he espoused the princess Henrietta of England, daughter of Charles I. This lady has been accused of evincing a decided inclination for gallantry; but the eulogistic historian of the Bourbons maintains that she was only guilty of levity and indiscretion. The following anecdote is related by the princess Charlotte-Elizabeth of Bavaria, the duke of Orleans' second wife. One day madame, whether for the purpose of seeing her children, or of conversing more freely with the count de Guiche, went to the house of madame de C., her children's governess, where the count, that lady's nephew, happened to be. She

had a valet-de-chambre named Lannois; he was stationed on the stairs, to give notice in case monsieur should arrive. All at once, Lannois ran and announced the prince: "He is coming, he is coming!" cried he; "he is on the stairs." They were all exceedingly alarmed. The count de Guiche could no longer escape by the antichamber, the people of monsieur being already there. "I only know one way," said Lannois; "approach the door." Lannois ran before monsieur, and struck his head so roughly against his nose that he made it bleed. "Monsieur," said he, "I beg your pardon; I did not know you were so near; I was running to open the door for you." Madame and the governess advanced in great alarm with handkerchiefs, which they applied to the prince's face, as well to his eyes as his nose, and surrounded him in such a manner that the count de Guiche was able to avoid him and gain the stairs without being perceived by monsieur. Monsieur believed that it was only Lannois who escaped, and never learned the truth of the adventure.

On the 15th of November, 1671, the princess Charlotte-Elizabeth of Bavaria, named the princess palatine, embraced at Metz the catholic religion; and on the 21st of the same month, monsieur espoused that princess at Chalons. She was, says Saint-Simon, a princess of the old time; attached to honour, to virtue, to grandeur; inexorable on the subject of decorum. She was very German in her manners, and had several fantastic tastes. She passionately loved dogs and horses, the chase, and plays

She was scarcely ever seen but in a large coat and a man's perruque.

This prince has been accused of want of discretion: to confide a secret to him, was to tell it to all the world. Louis XIV. was wont to say, "The babbling of monsieur gives me a disgust for speaking." One day, monsieur said to a gentleman who was presented to him, "Monsieur, do you come from the army?"—"No, monsieur," said the cavalier, "I have never been in the army."—"You come, then, from your country-house?" resumed monsieur."—"No, monsieur; I have none," replied the man.—"Ah!" said monsieur, "you live with your family at Paris, with your wife and children?" —"No," answered the cavalier; "I have never been married." Every body broke out into a roar of laughter, and monsieur was very much disconcerted.

The duke of Orleans was always a very devout prince. He used to take to bed with him a chaplet ornamented with medals, on which he said his prayers before he went to sleep. One night, these prayers being finished, his wife was awakened by a clattering somewhat loud, and she suspected that it was the medals. She awakened her husband, and said to him, "Monsieur, God forgive me! but I suspect that you promenade your medals, images, and reliques, in a country which is unknown to them." Monsieur answered, "Go to sleep; you know not what you are saying." The princess fell asleep again. The noise having recommenced, she rose gently, took a taper, approached the bed, and seizing him by the arm, said, "For once you will not deny it."—"You have been a huguenot," re-

plied monsieur; "you do not know what efficacy images and reliques have; they guarantee from mishap the parts of our body which they touch."— "I beg your pardon, monsieur," she replied; "but, without wishing to dispute with you, you will never persuade me that this is to honour the saints and saintesses, to promenade their images *sur les parties les moins décentes de notre corps:* it is contrary to common sense." Monsieur fell a-laughing with madame, begging her however not to speak of it to any person.

In the army, the soldiers were wont to say of the brother of Louis XIV., "He is more afraid of being sun-burnt than he is of powder and musket-shot;" a saying which at once expresses the affectation and courage of this prince. It is certain that he showed himself to great advantage on all occasions. The people also shouted one day before the king, who was returning from the wars against Holland, "Long live the king, who takes towns! and monsieur, who takes towns and gains battles!" This was on the occasion of the taking of St. Omer and of the battle of Cassel, taken and gained by monsieur, the 11th and 20th of April, 1677. We give the following passage entire from the historian of this prince; it is a curious example of the manner in which the histories of princes are usually written:— "What is singular in this prince is, that, in spite of his *natural* bravery, he was *timid:* he had an invincible repugnance for the chase and for war; and, saving the cases where the military service demanded it, he could not resolve to mount on horseback. Cæsar also trembled when mounting his chariot; he was

always afraid of being overturned!" Truly, an apt comparison! Cæsar and monsieur!!

When the king wished to marry the duke de Chartres, his nephew (afterwards the regent), to mademoiselle de Blois, madame, the duke's mother, heard the first proposals of this marriage with the greatest disdain. Monsieur, who had no will of his own, sometimes gave hopes to the king, his brother; sometimes promised firmness to madame, his wife; sometimes shuffled with madame de Maintenon. He was in the state of indecision of a courtier who feels all his baseness, but who remembers that his master has many things to pardon him. However that might be, the duke de Chartres, paying no regard to the will of his parents, submitted to that of the king, his uncle. As soon as madame learned the steps taken by her son, she forbade him to proceed farther; others add that she struck him, reproaching him with the opprobrium with which he had covered himself. The marriage, however, took place at Versailles with magnificence, 19th of February, 1692; and madame appeared at the fêtes with all the externals of joy.

Madame de Maintenon had undertaken the conversion of monsieur, whose conduct was any thing but exemplary. Father de la Bourdonnaye, his confessor, threatened to leave him if he did not reform. This severity awakened remorse in the breast of this weak prince; he resolved to retire from court, to found hospitals, and to think no longer of any thing but his salvation: death surprised him in the midst of these projects. One day, while he was at the house of madame de Maintenon, waiting till

the king returned from the council, he showed much sadness. Madame de Maintenon asked the cause of it: "This jubilee," said the prince, "has caused me to make bitter reflections."—"You must cultivate them," said madame; "they are symptoms of grace."—"I have done so much evil," he replied, "that I do not know how to expiate it all."—"God is just, but he is good."—"If I were not married," added the prince, "I would retire from court; one is damned there without perceiving it."—"That is not," said she, "what God requires of you; your part is to edify the world, and not to bury yourself in a cloister. You have settled your conscience?"—"Yes," replied monsieur, "I have done my best: but do you think that it is sufficient to sin no more?" Thereupon the king came from the council, and they placed themselves at table, when monsieur was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which alarmed all the assembly. Fagon, first physician, whose long experience permitted him to speak to the princes with a salutary severity, said to him, "You are threatened with apoplexy, and you cannot be bled too promptly." He feared bleeding: the king endeavoured to persuade him to it; but, on not being able to prevail on him, said to him, "You will see what your obstinacy will cost you. We shall be awakened one of these nights in order to be told that you are dead." Monsieur retired, under pretext of taking a bath. He went to St. Cloud, where he supped with great gaiety. Towards the end of the repast, he asked madame de Ventadour for a liqueur which the duke of Savoy had sent him. Madame de Ventadour turned

towards him to present it to him, and at the same moment saw him fall senseless. Messengers were immediately despatched to Marly; the king arrived, but his brother had expired. (9th of June, 1701.)

Monsieur, says his historian, was sincerely regretted by the court. The king loved him; but not so much, says the second madame, as he was loved by him. Their inclinations were different, but had not produced that antipathy which historians have supposed. This supposition is founded on monsieur's having been excluded from the council and from the command of the armies. It was his indiscretion that drove him from the management of affairs; and the king made him aware of it. One evening monsieur, supping with him, testified great eagerness for a new fruit: "Hold," said the king to him, who was piqued at his having divulged a secret of the council, — "eat; for you are no more master of your mouth than of your tongue." This bluntness produced in the friendship of the two brothers a coolness, which was remarked, but which was not of long duration. Those who search in the heart of princes attribute to the jealousy of the king the inaction in which he left monsieur during the war. It is probable that monsieur did not trouble himself about commanding: if he loved glory, he loved pleasure more; and more than one victory was necessary to persuade people that a man who dressed himself like a woman was fit for the trade of a hero. However that may be, the two brothers evinced a desire to please each other. Monsieur was the first of the flatterers of Louis; and Louis tolerated his irregularities. In one of their conversations,

when their hearts overflowed freely, the king asked his brother what was said of him in the world? "That you are not communicative enough," replied monsieur;—"and what say they of me?" he added. "That you are too communicative," rejoined the king.

After the death of her husband, the king sent to ask madame where she intended to live—if she wished to be in a convent in Paris, to go to Maubuisson, or to any other place? Madame replied, that, having the honour to be of the royal family, she could not and did not wish to have any other residence than where the king was. His majesty paid her a visit the following day. He said to the princess, in a somewhat ironical tone, that he had sent to ask the place of her retreat, not imagining that she could ever choose that of his residence. Madame replied to his majesty, that she could not conceive who could have given him ideas so erroneous in regard to her; that she certainly entertained for his person more respect and attachment than those who did her the injustice to suppose in her sentiments so contrary to her natural disposition. Thereupon the king told all to withdraw, and came to a full explanation with madame. The king said to her, "I know that you hate the Maintenon."—"It is true, sire; I hate her with all my heart, but only because I love you, and because that person renders me ill offices with you. Nevertheless, if by so doing I can afford your majesty the slightest pleasure, I will be reconciled with madame de Maintenon, and will live on apparent good terms with her." The king was satisfied with this explanation: he imme-

diately sent for madame de Maintenon, and said to her, "Approach; madame wishes to be reconciled to you;" and bringing them near to one another, he made them embrace. Such was the conclusion of this scene. The king then ordered madame de Maintenon to live on good terms with the princess; which she did in appearance, but she did her all sorts of underhand bad turns. She died in 1722, aged more than sixty years.

A sufficient account has already been given of the regent Orleans; and happily the decencies of modern society save us from the disgusting task of removing the veil that shrouds the abominations of his private life. One of the most soul-sickening instances of political sycophancy is exhibited by the nauseous eulogiums which many French writers have heaped upon this man's loathsome memory, whose private character and public administration comprehended every thing that a virtuous man and a wise or honest minister should avoid, and, in a word, formed a combination of evil qualities that was disgraceful to the name of man. We pass on to his son,

Louis I. of the Name, Duke of Orleans, First Prince of the Blood.

Louis First, duke of Orleans, of Valois, of Chartres, &c., first prince of the blood, was born about the end of the year 1703. He was the son of Philip duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, and of Marie-Françoise de Bourbon, *legitimée de France*, daughter of Louis XIV. and of madame de Montespan.

Louis first, duke of Orleans, married Augusta Maria Jane, of Bade-Baden, daughter of Louis William of Bade, prince of Bade-Baden, and of Frances Sibilla, princess of Saxe Lawembourg. This union was not of long duration. The duchess of Orleans, after having twice become a mother, died in the flower of her life, on the 8th of August, 1726. The deep grief to which her death gave rise in the heart of the duke of Orleans, her husband, only augmented in him still more the taste which he already felt for solitude.

Naturally of a very grave and serious character, Louis was little formed for a courtier. Accordingly, in spite of the splendour of his birth and his advantages, we do not see him play any part in the intrigues which took place when Louis XV., beginning to desire to govern his kingdom by himself, dismissed the duke de Bourbon, his prime minister.

However, some writers pretend that particular disgusts and refusals which the young duke of Orleans met with, made him resume the plan which he had at first formed, of insinuating himself into the confidence of the king, still younger than himself, and of having a share in his favour and in the government. What is certain is, that he was several years head of the councils of state, and that all the other princes of the blood were more or less in credit with Louis XV. The duke of Orleans is the only one who appeared near his majesty only as much as his duty and his rank required.

This prince, who had long desired to renounce the world, consummated, without regret and without trouble, the sacrifice, by retiring to the abbey of

Sainte-Geneviève, where he lived a number of years, given up to the exercises of the most austere piety. He died in 1752, aged 48 years and a half, at Sainte-Geneviève, and was buried at Val-de-Grace; leaving a son, who succeeded him.

Louis-Philippe.

Louis-Philippe, duke d'Orléans, de Chartres, de Valois, de Nemours, and de Montpensier, chevalier des ordres du roi, and governor of Dauphiny, first prince of the blood, was born on the 12th of March, 1725: he had the misfortune to lose his mother the year after. It will be necessary, as we approach the present time, to shorten our sketches very much, inasmuch as the guide whom we have hitherto chiefly followed (we have reason to think, with safety) in our account of the members of the Bourbon family, throws off entirely the air of a trustworthy historian, and sinks into a contemptible court sycophant and indiscriminating eulogist. Some characters, upon whom history has set her blackest and most opprobrious stamp, become, in his hands, pure and white as unsunned snow. To such a degree is this carried, that his descriptions produce an absolute sensation of nausea.

This prince was present at the affair of Dettingen, in 1743, the 29th of June; he had a horse killed under him. But for the fatal imprudence of the duke de Grammont, the English, shut up in a cul-de-sac, would have been obliged either to surrender themselves prisoners, or suffer themselves to be killed. The king of England, George II., and

the duke of Cumberland, who were at the head of these troops, appeared, says the French writer, to have come thither only to witness our triumph. But the French vivacity rendered abortive this enterprise, so well concerted, so well conducted, and the effects of which would have been so important.

Among the singularities of that day, the death of the count de Boufflers, of the branch of Remiencourt, says Voltaire, ought not to be omitted. He was a child of ten years and a half: a cannon-ball broke his leg; he received the shot, saw his leg cut off, and died with a *sang froid* more than astonishing: he did not utter a cry or a complaint. So much courage in one so young affected all who were witnesses of his fate.

In 1744, Louis XV. having left Versailles to put himself at the head of his troops in Flanders, the duke de Chartres was one of the first to follow him. He was at the siege of Menin, taken by the king on the 4th of June, after an attack of eight days.

At the *Te Deum* which the king caused to be chanted in Lille, after the capture of Menin, three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law were fighting in different places for the king, formed the singular ornament of this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied into Flanders her nephew, the duke de Chartres, and the duke de Penthièvre, who was to become her son-in-law, whilst the duke of Modena, her husband, was at the head of the Spaniards in Italy; the duchess de Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess de Conti, whose son was then on the Alps, had come with these two princesses.

The wife of the duke de Chartres was the daughter of the princess de Conti, widow of Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti.

At the time of the king's illness at Metz, no one dared to inform that monarch of the critical state in which he was. The duke de Chartres, in his quality of first prince of the blood, alone had the courage; he informed the king of the danger he was in, and suggested to him the idea of fulfilling the duties prescribed by religion. In vain the gentleman in waiting carried his boldness so far as long to resist his highness; he would relax nothing from his determination. If we are to believe private memoirs, the prince said to him in a menacing tone, "Does it become a valet, such as thou, to refuse entrance to the nearest relation of thy master?" At the same time, with a blow of his foot, he burst the door which they would not open to him. This noise having excited the curiosity of his majesty, his highness complained of the gentleman in waiting, who received orders to retire.

On the death of his father, on the 4th of February, 1752, the duke de Chartres was saluted at court duke of Orleans, and succeeded to all his titles. Some years before his death, the duke of Orleans married secretly, with the consent of the king, the marchioness de Montesson, the aunt of madame de Genlis, in whose memoirs the reader will find a full account of this affair. He had no children by this marriage.

This prince, notwithstanding the exercise which he took, had become inconveniently corpulent; he was, besides, very much troubled with the gout. It

was this cruel malady, fixed in the stomach, which brought him to the grave; he died in the course of the year 1786, aged about fifty-nine. He had, for several years, given up his palace to his son, the duke de Chartres, and had retired to a magnificent hôtel which he had in the Chaussée d'Antin. This prince regularly gave a thousand livres a month to the poor.

Louis-Philippe-Auguste d' Orléans, Duc d' Orléans, Son of the preceding.

Louis-Philippe-Auguste de Bourbon, duke d'Orléans, de Chartres, de Valois, de Nemours, and de Montpensier, was born on the 13th of April, 1747. He assumed the name of *Egalité*, by which he is generally known.

By his wife, daughter of Louis-Jean-Marie de Bourbon, duke de Penthièvre, and of Marie-Thérèse-Felicité d'Est, he had three sons and one daughter.

The eldest of the sons is now Louis-Philippe, king of the French.

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